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J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

VOL. XXVII NO. 4

JULY, 1922

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VOLUME XXVII
OCTOBER 1921 TO JULY 1922

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.
1922

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

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The
American Historical Review

SCIENCE AT THE COURT OF THE EMPEROR
FREDERICK II.

THE Emperor Frederick II. is a subject of perennial interest to the historian. The riddle of his many-sided personality, his place at the centre of one of the great struggles of European politics, the striking anticipation of more modern ideas and practices in his administration, the brilliant and precocious culture of his Sicilian kingdom, have attracted the attention of two generations of scholars without definitive results. We still lack a satisfactory biography and a survey of the governmental system, as well as annals for the later years of the reign,¹ while for its intellectual history nothing has superseded what was written by Amari² and Huillard-Bréholles³ more than half a century ago. As regards vernacular literature, the limited body of extant material has so circumscribed the problem that we now understand fairly well the importance of the *magna curia* as the cradle of Italian poetry and the origin of particular forms like the sonnet.⁴ The Latin literature of the South has been partially explored by Hampe and others, though its relations to intellectual movements in

¹ The best sketch is that of Karl Hampe, "Kaiser Friedrich II.", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 1-42 (1899). The newer materials for the study of the reign are noted in his *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte* (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 219 ff. E. Winkelmann's fundamental annals, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Leipzig, 1889-1897), stop with 1233.

² *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (Florence, 1854-1872), III. 655 ff.

³ *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris, 1859-1861), introduction, especially pp. dxix-dlv.

⁴ See particularly E. F. Langley, "The Extant Repertory of the Sicilian Poets", in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVIII. 454-520 (1913); and the important studies of Ernest H. Wilkins on the origin of the *canzone* and the sonnet, *Modern Philology*, XII. 135-166, XIII. 79-110 (1915). For Frederick's relations with Provençal poets, see the studies of De Bartholomaeis, in *Memorie of the Bologna Academy*, I. 69-124 (1911-1912); and Bertonio, *I Trovatori d'Italia* (Modena, 1915), pp. 25-27.

northern Italy and elsewhere require further investigation.⁵ On the scientific side, while much remains to be done with the fragmentary materials, investigation has advanced to a point where it may be worth while to supplement and correct the older writers by a general survey of the present state of our knowledge. If the results do not greatly enlarge our acquaintance with the content of thirteenth-century science, they at least illustrate more fully its methods and the workings of one of the most remarkable minds of the later Middle Ages.

The intellectual life of Frederick's court cannot be regarded as an isolated or merely personal phenomenon. Lying between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it must be seen against the cosmopolitan background of Norman Sicily, the meeting-point of Greek, Arabic, and Latin culture, central in the history as in the geography of the Mediterranean lands. Frederick was not the first but the second of the "two baptized sultans" on the Sicilian throne,⁶ and in intellectual matters as in legislation he followed in the direction of his grandfather Roger. King Roger's chief scientific interest was geography, pursued assiduously throughout the fifteen years of his reign. Finding the Arabian geographies and translations insufficient for his purpose, he called to his court famous travellers from many lands and subjected them to a close examination, accepting only the facts on which they were agreed, and recording the results upon a great silver map and in a volume of descriptive text in Arabic which Edrisi completed in 1154.⁷ This method is not unlike that followed by Frederick in consulting experts on falconry, among whom he cites King Roger's falconer, William, who passed as one of the earliest writers on this subject.⁸ Under Roger's immediate successors, William I. and William II., scientific activity took the form particularly of the translation of Greek works on mathematics and astronomy: the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid, the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria, the *De Motu* of Proclus, even the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Scientific observation, fed by the *Meteorology* of Aristotle, concerned itself with the phenomena of Etna.⁹ At the same time Ptolemy's *Optics* was trans-

⁵ This is the freshest part of the notable article of the late H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des Geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II.," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 473-540 (1912). There are noteworthy essays by F. Novati in his *Freschi e Minii del Dugento* (Milan, 1908), especially pp. 103-142.

⁶ The phrase is Amari's, *Musulmani*, III. 365.

⁷ *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero"*, translated by Amari and Schiaparelli (Rome, 1883), pp. 4-8; Edrisi, translated by Reinaud (Paris, 1836), I. xviii-xxii. Pardi has recently argued that the final form of the work must be subsequent to 1154; *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, XXIV. 380 (1917).

⁸ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 341, 347.

⁹ See my article on "The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth

lated from the Arabic, and the household of William II., as portrayed in the scenes of his death, comprised an Arab physician and an Arab astrologer.¹⁰

At the court of Frederick II. the Greek element is of little significance. Greek versions of his laws were issued, and Calabrian poets sang his praises in Greek verse, but the influence of Byzantium had declined with the fall of the Greek empire, and we hear little of Greek scholars or Greek translations in this period in the South.¹¹ On the other hand, Arabic influence was, if anything, stronger under Frederick, especially after his visit to the East, and was maintained by the political and commercial relations with Mohammedan countries, while his imperial interests fostered intercourse with northern Italy, Germany, and Provence. The chronicler who passes by the name of Nicholas of Iamsilla tells us that at Frederick's accession there were few or no scholars in the Sicilian kingdom, and that it was one of his principal tasks by means of liberal rewards to attract masters from various parts of the earth.¹² What scholars were thus drawn to the Sicilian court we know but imperfectly. The loss of the imperial registers, save for a fragment of 1239-1240,¹³ makes it impossible to reconstruct in detail the organization and personnel of the household, and the scattered documents of the reign tell us almost nothing of the men who aided the emperor in his scientific inquiries. That they were chiefly officials of the *curia* seems altogether likely. Several of the Sicilian school of poets held official positions as notaries, judges, or falconers,¹⁴ and we are not surprised to find Frederick's astrologer, Theodore, engaged in the same year in casting horoscopes, going on missions, making confectionery, drafting letters, and translating an Arabic work on falconry. In this busy court science, like literature, would seem to have been a matter for leisure hours, and its votaries could be no narrow specialists!

Two of Frederick's courtiers seem to have borne the official title of "philosopher", and in an age when philosophy and science were

Century", in *American Historical Review*, XXV. 603-615 (1920), and the earlier articles there cited.

¹⁰ Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, plate 3.

¹¹ Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 490 ff.; cf. Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, edition of 1915, II. 380 ff. Further investigation is needed respecting Greek in the South in the thirteenth century.

¹² Muratori, VIII. 496.

¹³ On which see the recent studies of Niese, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, V. 1-20 (1913); and Sthamer, in *Berlin Sitzungsberichte*, 1920, pp. 584 ff.

¹⁴ See Langley's list in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII. 468 ff., and the references there cited, especially the researches of Scandone in *Studi di Letteratura Italiana*, V., VI.

inseparable these two were naturally the chief advisers of the emperor in scientific matters. The more famous of them, Michael Scot,¹⁵ who hailed originally from Scotland, came to Sicily with a reputation gained chiefly in the schools of Spain. Appearing at Toledo as early as 1217, Michael there distinguished himself by translating al-Bitrogi *On the Sphere* and Aristotle *On Animals*, as well as the *De Caelo* and the *De Anima* with the commentaries of Averroes thereon. By 1220 he is in Italy, and from 1224 to 1227 he enjoys the favor of the pope and the grant of benefices in England and Scotland; but soon thereafter he is found in the emperor's service, in which, though not mentioned in any surviving official documents, he remained until his death, which occurred before 1236. His official position was that of court astrologer, but he made for the emperor a Latin summary of Avicenna's *De Animalibus* and busied himself with a series of writings on astrology, meteorology, and physiognomy, all dedicated to Frederick. These show acquaintance with medicine, music, and alchemy, as well as with the Aristotelian philosophy in general. We are told that he knew Hebrew as well as Arabic, but his linguistic attainments are the occasion of unfavorable comment on the part of Roger Bacon. Scot had a respectable knowledge of the Arabian astronomy and its applications, and prided himself on the accuracy of his observations and calculations. His faith in astrology does not, in his age, militate against his standing as a scientist, but his own writings show him to have been pretentious and boastful, with no clear sense of the limits of his knowledge, as well as tending to overstep the line, if line there be, between astrology and necromancy. At the same time he had an experimental habit of mind, and a final judgment as to his scientific attainments must await the more careful sifting of his extensive treatises on astrology, the *Liber Introductorius* and the *Liber Particularis*.

If Michael Scot represented the learning of Moorish Spain and Western Christendom, Master Theodore "the philosopher" seems to have maintained relations particularly with the East.¹⁶ Greek, or perhaps Jewish,¹⁷ by name, he is said to have been sent to Frederick by the Great Calif, probably the Sultan of Egypt, some time before

¹⁵ Current statements concerning him are derived from the highly conjectural book of J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897). I have tried to fix the few facts we really know in an article on "Michael Scot and Frederick II.," to appear in *Isis*, IV., in 1922.

¹⁶ See, in general, Amari, *Musulmani*, III. 692-695; Steinschneider, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX. 4, p. 79; Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 1-9 (1915).

¹⁷ Renan, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXI. 290.

1236.¹⁸ If we may believe the prologue to the French romance of *Sidrach*, Theodore, here called "Todre li phylosophes", came from Antioch and remained in relations with its Latin patriarch.¹⁹ In the autumn of 1238, at the siege of Brescia, he appears in the Dominican annals as silencing the friars in philosophical disputes until, challenged to public debate on any subject of philosophy with the doughty Roland of Cremona, he is triumphantly confuted, to the great glory of the order.²⁰ Probably succeeding Scot as court astrologer, Theodore casts the imperial horoscope at Padua in 1239, where he is ridiculed by the local chronicler for seeking a favorable conjunction impossible at the time and failing to search in Scorpio for the impending failure of the expedition.²¹ In the register of 1239-1240 he is found drafting the emperor's Arabic letters to the King of Tunis and acting as his trusty messenger. In this same year he is busy compounding syrups and sugar of violet for the emperor and his household, with free credit in money and costly sugar for this purpose, and a box of the violet sugar is sent to Piero della Vigna during his recovery from an illness.²² In 1240-1241 the emperor corrects his translation from the Arabic.²³ No further dates are known in Theodore's career, but he continued to enjoy imperial favor until his death not long before November, 1250, when Frederick regranted the extensive domains which "the late Theodore our philosopher held so long as he lived".²⁴

¹⁸ "Explicit liber novem iudicum quem missit soldanus Babilonie imperatori Federico tempore quo et magnus chalif misit magistrum Theodorum eidem imperatori Federico." British Museum, Royal MS. 12 G. VIII; cf. French version in Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature au Moyen Age* (1911), p. 191; Amari, III. 694. The *Liber Novem Iudicum* is cited by Michael Scot in his *Liber Introductorius* (Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 128), and must thus have reached Sicily before 1236. The phrase "magnus chalif" does not strengthen our faith in this colophon.

The references to Theodore in the writings of Leonard of Pisa may well be earlier, but the answers to Theodore's questions look like later additions to the original text of Leonard's *Flos* and *Liber Quadratorum*, so that they cannot be dated with certainty.

¹⁹ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, I. 904 ff.; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 288-290; Langlois, p. 204.

²⁰ Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I. 126, col. 2.

²¹ Rolandini, in Muratori, VIII. 228 (new edition, VIII. 66); and in *Monumenta, Scriptores*, XIX. 73.

²² Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, V. 556, 630, 727, 745, 750 ff.; *id.*, *Pierre de la Vigne*, p. 347.

²³ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 348.

²⁴ Original charter published by Schneider in *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven*, XVI. 51 (1913); cf. the inquest of the Angevin period published by Scandone in *Studi di Letteratura Italiana*, V. 308 (1903). Theodore may well have been one of the astrologers lost in the defeat before Parma in 1248. Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III. 183.

While the biographical data are somewhat fuller in the case of Theodore than in that of Michael Scot, the evidence of his literary activity is much less. Apart from a doubtful connection with the transmission of the philosophical romance of *Sidrach*, Theodore is known only as the author of a treatise on hygiene extracted for the emperor's benefit from the *Secretum Secretorum* of the Pseudo-Aristotle,²⁵ and a Latin version of the work of Moamyn on the care of falcons and dogs.²⁶ His preface to this shows acquaintance with Aristotle, including the *Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*, such as a court philosopher should have, while he also exhibits medical knowledge. Mathematician as well as astrologer, he puts problems to Leonard of Pisa, and is addressed by him as "the supreme philosopher of the imperial court", whose cosmopolitan culture he well represents.²⁷

Another court philosopher, John of Palermo, mentioned by Leonard of Pisa in 1225, is probably identical with the Master John the notary who acts as confidential agent of the emperor in 1240, but we know nothing of his scientific tastes beyond his interest in mathematics.²⁸ A Master Dominicus, perhaps a Spaniard, appears in the same connection.²⁹ The Sicilian Moslem who tutored Frederick in logic during his crusade remains anonymous,³⁰ with many other scholars who must have attended the court. One of these, for example, appears in correspondence on mathematical subjects with a learned Jew of Spain.³¹

The more literary members of the *magna curia*, such as Piero della Vigna, are silent respecting their scientific associates, save for such an exchange of compliments and sugar plums as has been cited. The interests of Piero, as of the other members of the Capuan school, were primarily literary, and his letters would not have become models of Latin style for the thirteenth century³² had he not been first and foremost a phrasemaker who spoke "obscurely and in the grand manner".³³ The extant collections of correspondence which pass

²⁵ Ed. Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 4 (1915).

²⁶ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 348 ff.

²⁷ *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, ed. Boncompagni (Rome, 1857-1862), II. 247, 279.

²⁸ *Ib.*, II. 227, 253; Huillard-Bréholles, II. 185, V. 726 ff., 745, 928.

²⁹ Leonardo, *Scritti*, II. 1, 253; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1900), II. 35 ff., 41.

³⁰ Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, II. 254.

³¹ Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 3.

³² Critical edition lacking. See Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, pp. 249 ff.; Hanauer, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXI. 527-536 (1900).

³³ So Odofredus characterizes him, *Mitteilungen des Instituts*, XXX. 653, n. 1.

under his name were preserved for rhetorical rather than historical purposes, and there was no occasion for retaining in them whatever of the scientific life of the court the originals might have reflected. Nevertheless, some of his phrases suggest the other intellectual interests of the court, as when he borrows the language of the current cosmogony in the preface to the emperor's *Constitutions*,³⁴ or refers to the preoccupation of the friars with the form of the globe, the course of the sun in the zodiac, the squaring of the circle, or the conversion of triangles into quadrangles.³⁵ Piero's correspondence with the masters of Bologna and Naples and the *dictatores* of his native Campania runs parallel to the scientific correspondence of Frederick and his philosophers with scholars in Italy and Mohammedan lands.

So far as Italy is concerned, the outstanding scientific genius of the thirteenth century is undoubtedly the mathematician Leonard of Pisa.³⁶ Beyond the fact of his African education, and his "sovereign possession of the whole mathematical knowledge of his own and every preceding generation",³⁷ his personal history is unknown; but though he resided at Pisa, he was well known to Frederick and the philosophers of his court, to whom his extant works are in large measure dedicated. It is Michael Scot who in 1228 receives from Leonard's hands the revised edition of his epoch-making treatise on the *Abacus*, first issued in 1202.³⁸ Already Master John of Palermo had accompanied Leonard into the emperor's presence and proposed questions involving quadratic and cubic equations, the answers to which are found in the *Flos* and *Liber Quadratorum*.³⁹ Like the solutions of various problems submitted to Leonard by Master Theodore, these are designed to illustrate method rather than to form a systematic treatise. The *Liber Quadratorum* is directed to the emperor, who has himself deigned to read the treatise on the *Abacus* and to hear the discussion of subtle problems of arithmetic and geometry, such as those once propounded in his presence by Master John.⁴⁰ Relations

³⁴ Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 501, 523. Those who doubt Piero's authorship of the original constitutions admit his influence on their style as we have them: e.g., Garufi, in *Studi Medioevali*, II. 105, note.

³⁵ Poem printed by Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, p. 414.

³⁶ M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen*, II. cc. 41, 42; S. Günther, *Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1908), I. c. 15.

³⁷ Günther, p. 258.

³⁸ *Scritti*, I. 1.

³⁹ *Scritti*, II. 227-283. The date 1225 which heads the *Liber Quadratorum* has perplexed historians, since Frederick first visited Pisa in the following year. Eneström has tried to reconcile the difficulties by placing the first meeting elsewhere. *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, IX. 72 (1908).

⁴⁰ *Scritti*, II. 253.

with other scholars of northern Italy seem to have concerned chiefly matters of law or literature, as Niese has well brought out,⁴¹ but we should not overlook the treatise on the hygiene of a crusading army dedicated to Frederick by Adam, chanter of Cremona, in 1227 and recently brought to light by Sudhoff.⁴²

It is characteristic of Frederick's strongly personal policy that the intellectual life of his kingdom centres in his court rather than in universities, and that the southern universities in his reign show little vigor of life and leadership. His absolute and paternal ideas of government left no place for independent corporations of masters and students living the free and turbulent life of the northern *studia*. So Salerno, which had grown to eminence as a school of medicine without the aid of prince or pope, found itself tied down by royal statute in 1231 as part of a comprehensive regulation of the practice of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy throughout the kingdom of Sicily, issued in the interests of bureaucratic administration rather than of university development. The course of study is laid down by law, and royal officers are to be present at the examinations.⁴³ A similar bureaucratic purpose runs through the statutes establishing the University of Naples in 1224 and reforming it in 1234 and 1239. Frederick needed trained public servants, and he preferred to have them brought up in his own kingdom rather than in Bologna and other Guelfic cities of the North. Although the new university was to comprise all the fields of study then current, its strength lay in law and rhetorical composition, and it is no accident that the masters whose names have reached us are chiefly jurists and grammarians, closely connected with the judges and clerks of the royal *curia*.⁴⁴ Nevertheless we read of a

⁴¹ *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 513 ff.

⁴² F. Hönger, *Aertzliche Verhaltensmassregeln auf dem Heerzug ins Heilige Land für Kaiser Friedrich II. geschrieben von Adam von Cremona* (Leipzig diss., 1913).

⁴³ Constitutions in Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 150 ff., 235; Greek text, ed. Sudhoff, in *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin*, XIII. 180 (1914). See Rashdall, *Universities*, I. 83 ff.; and the commentary of A. Bäumer, *Die Aertztegesetzgebung Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Leipzig, 1911).

⁴⁴ See the principal documents concerning the beginnings of the university in Huillard-Bréholles, II. 450, IV. 497, V. 493-496; and the discussion in Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I. 452-456. A much-needed study of its early history is promised by E. Sthamer. Two masters connected with the university in this period are the subjects of recent monographs: G. Ferretti, "Roffredo Epifanio da Benevento", in *Studi Medioevali*, III. 230-275 (1909); and F. Torraca, "Maestro Terrisio di Atina", in *Archivio Storico Napoletano*, XXXVI. 231-253 (1911). Another professor of grammar, Walter of Ascoli, has left an etymological cyclopaedia entitled *Dedignomion*, or *Summa Derivationum*, or *Speculum Artis Grammaticae*, based on Isidore and Hugutio. I have used MS. 449 at Laon

professor of natural philosophy, Master Arnold the Catalan, who taught the courses of the stars and the nature of the elements but was unable to predict his own sudden death, which occurred "as he was lecturing on the soul", very likely in the midst of a commentary on the *De Anima* of Aristotle.⁴⁵ No less a person than Thomas Aquinas began his study of natural philosophy at Naples, under an Irish master, one Petrus de Hibernia, who is later found holding a disputation at King Manfred's court.⁴⁶

Frederick's patronage of learning was not limited to Christian scholars. The Jewish translator of the logical commentary of Averroes and Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Jacob Anatoli, praises this "friend of wisdom and its votaries" for pecuniary support, and even hopes the Messiah may come in this reign; his versions into Hebrew, begun in Provence, were continued at Naples in 1232 and brought him into relations with Michael Scot as well as the emperor.⁴⁷ A Spanish Jew, the encyclopedist Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen, was in correspondence with one of the court philosophers at the age of eighteen, coming later to Italy, where he met the emperor and is found in Tuscany in 1247.⁴⁸ Through these or others Frederick had some knowledge of Maimonides.⁴⁹

Whether eminent Mohammedan scholars actually resided at Frederick and MS. Vat. lat. 1500 of the Vatican, both ca. 1300; there is a later copy at the University of Bologna, MS. 1515 (2832). The Laon manuscript was ascribed to Walter, archbishop of Palermo in the twelfth century (*Catalogue*, p. 238), but "Gualterius Hesculanus" appears clearly in the preface, and a further sentence printed by Morelli, *Codices MSS. Latini Bibliothecae Nanianae* (Venice, 1726), p. 160, states that the book was begun at Bologna in 1229 and afterward completed at Naples. Walter is probably the "Magister G[ualterius] grammaticus", professor at Naples, whose death is lamented in a letter of Piero della Vigna (*Epp.*, IV., no. 8; Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, p. 394). In the Laon MS. the *Dedignomion* is followed by the notes of another southern grammarian, Anellus de Gaieta.

⁴⁵ See the letter of condolence of Master Terrisio, published by Paolucci in the *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, IV. 44 (1896); and by Torraca in the article just cited, p. 247.

⁴⁶ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I. 456 ff.; Bacumker, "Petrus de Hibernia", in Munich *Sitzungsberichte*, 1920; *infra*, n. 138.

⁴⁷ Renan, in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVII. 580-589; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, pp. 58-61, 523; Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 382, n.

⁴⁸ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3, 164, 507; *id.*, *Verzeichniss der Hebräischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II. 121-126; and in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, XXXI., part 2, pp. 106 ff. On Jewish culture under Frederick, see M. Gudemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens der Juden in Italien* (Vienna, 1884), pp. 101-107, 268 ff.; R. Straus, *Die Juden im Königreich Sizilien* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 79-91.

⁴⁹ Amari, III. 705 ff.; Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, VII. 62-66 (1864); *id.*, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 433.

erick's court, is a question which cannot be answered from the information at our disposal. His colony of Saracens at Lucera⁵⁰ and his well-known tolerance of the infidel combined with the environment of his youth and his semi-oriental habits of life to spread stories that he preferred to surround himself with Moslem rather than Christian influences, in learning as in everything else.⁵¹ That he was friendly to the learning of Islam appears from the various questionnaires which, as we shall see, he sent out to Mohammedan rulers, partly as puzzles, partly in a real search for knowledge. His crusade led to political and commercial relations with the Sultan of Egypt which lasted throughout his reign, while the commercial treaty of 1231 with the ruler of Tunis was followed by the establishment of a Sicilian consulate at Tunis and a series of diplomatic missions of various sorts.⁵² Such missions were regularly the occasion of an exchange of presents, and it was well understood that the emperor valued a book, a rare bird, or a cunning piece of workmanship more highly than mere objects of luxury. Thus in 1232 al-Ashraf, sultan of Damascus, sent him a wonderful *planetarium*, with figures of the sun and moon marking the hours on their appointed rounds; valued at 20,000 marks, this was kept with the royal treasure at Venosa.⁵³ Frederick gave in return a white bear and a white peacock which astonished the Oriental chroniclers, as their western contemporaries were impressed by "the marvellous beasts, such as the West had not seen or known", which Frederick had earlier received from Egypt.⁵⁴

At the end of a series of such costly exchanges, Frederick, his treasury exhausted, propounded to the sultan problems of mathematics and philosophy, the solutions of which, due to a famous scholar of Egypt,⁵⁵ came back in the sultan's own hand. While in the East Frederick asked an interview with some one learned in astronomy,

⁵⁰ On which see now Egidi, in *Archivio Storico Napoletano*, XXXVI.-XXXIX.

⁵¹ Current views of Frederick's relations with the Saracen world are illustrated by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III. 520; IV. 268, 526, 567 ff., 635; V. 60 ff., 217.

⁵² See, in general, Amari, *Musulmani*, III. 621-655; A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker*, pp. 185, 302-304; Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, ch. 5; Mas Latrie, *Traité de Paix avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, introduction, pp. 82 ff., 122-124; Blochet, "Les Relations Diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les Sultans d'Égypte", in *Revue Historique*, LXXX. 51-64 (1902); and, under the several Mohammedan rulers, the indexes to the *Regesta Imperii* and Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*

⁵³ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (ed. Waitz, 1880), p. 263; Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 369; cf. Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, II. 399 ff.; Wiedemann, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XI. 485 (1914).

⁵⁴ *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 61.

⁵⁵ *Revue Historique*, LXXX. 60.

and in response Sultan Malek-Kamil sent him a most learned astronomer and mathematician surnamed al-Hanifi.⁵⁶ It will be recalled that Theodore the philosopher is said to have been first sent to the emperor by the "caliph", and it is he who drafts the Arabic letters to the ruler of Tunis.⁵⁷ There can be no doubt of the impression which Frederick made on the scholars of the East as one well versed in philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences in general;⁵⁸ but such reports, transmitted through later Arabic compilers, are too vague to throw much light on his relation to specific fields of science.

The list of scholars with whom Frederick was in contact fades into a penumbra of mythical attributions and romantic tales, interesting at least as showing the reputation which the emperor and his court acquired in the field of learning and literature.⁵⁹ Thus *Le Régime du Corps* of Aldebrandino of Siena, written in 1256 for Countess Beatrice of Provence, appears in certain later manuscripts as translated in 1234 "from Greek into Latin and from Latin into French" at the request of "Frederick formerly emperor of Rome".⁶⁰ The famous letter of Prester John concerning the marvels of the East, which in the Latin original is sent to the Greek emperor Manuel, is in its French form addressed to "Fedri l'empereur de Rome",⁶¹ as the mythical account of Alexander's conquests in Central Asia is directed to his philosopher Theodore.⁶² The French prophecies of Merlin profess to have been compiled at the desire of Frederick and then turned into Arabic as a present to the Sultan of Egypt,⁶³ while the romance of *Sidrach* purports to have been brought from Tunis for Frederick and turned into Latin by Friar Roger of Palermo.⁶⁴ A medical treatise is said to have been translated for the emperor in 1212 with the aid of Gerard of Cremona, who died twenty-five years earlier.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Tarih Mansuri, in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, IX. 119.

⁵⁷ See note 22, above.

⁵⁸ See the passages cited by Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1874), I. 73 ff.; Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, II. 137, n. 3.

⁵⁹ Cf. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature au Moyen Age*, p. 191.

⁶⁰ *Le Régime du Corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienne*, ed. L. Landouzy and R. Pépin (Paris, 1911), pp. xxxii, lv.

⁶¹ See, for the Latin text, the various studies of E. Zarncke; and, for the French version, Ruteboeuf, ed. Jubinal (1875), III. 355; P. Meyer, in *Romania*, XV. 177. The reference may be to Frederick Barbarossa (R. Köhler, *Romania*, V. 76).

⁶² Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 9; Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, VIII. 41.

⁶³ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, I. 371 ff., 905.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, I. 904; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 288; Langlois, p. 204.

⁶⁵ Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 793.

The nature of the scientific interests of Frederick's court has by this time become in some measure apparent. For one thing, he was deeply interested in all kinds of animals, collecting a menagerie which followed him about Italy and even into Germany. In November, 1231, he came to Ravenna "with many animals unknown to Italy: elephants, dromedaries, camels, panthers, gerfalcons, lions, leopards, white falcons, and bearded owls".⁶⁶ Five years later a similar procession passed through Parma, to the delight of a boy of fifteen later known as Salimbene.⁶⁷ The elephant, a present from the sultan, stayed in Ghibelline Cremona, where he was put through his paces for the Earl of Cornwall⁶⁸ and died thirteen years later "full of humors", amid the popular expectation that his bones would ultimately turn into ivory.⁶⁹ In 1245 the monks of Santo Zeno at Verona, in extending their hospitality to the emperor, had to entertain with him an elephant, five leopards, and twenty-four camels.⁷⁰ The camels were used for transport and were even taken over the Alps, with monkeys and leopards, to the wonder of the untravelled Germans.⁷¹ Another marvel of the collection was a giraffe from the sultan, the first to appear in medieval Europe.⁷² Throughout runs the motif of ivory, apes, and peacocks from the East, as old as Nineveh and Tyre and as new as the modern "Zoo", with the touch of the thirteenth century seen in the elephant which Matthew Paris thought rare enough to preserve in a special drawing in his history,⁷³ and the lion which Villard de Honnecourt saw on his travels and carefully labelled in his sketchbook, "drawn from life"! ⁷⁴

Frederick's menagerie illustrates various sides of his nature—his delight in magnificence and display, his fondness for the unusual and the exotic, his joy in hunting, for which he used coursing leopards⁷⁵ and panthers as well as hawks and falcons and the humbler compan-

⁶⁶ Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 282, 286.

⁶⁷ *Cronica*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 92 ff.

⁶⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV. 166 ff.

⁶⁹ *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1856), p. 215.

⁷⁰ *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, VI. 129.

⁷¹ *Annals of Colmar, Scriptores*, XVII. 189; Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2098a, 2973, 3475a.

⁷² Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, ed. Stadler, p. 1417; Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, IV. 436.

⁷³ *Chronica Majora*, IV. 166, V. 489.

⁷⁴ "Et bien sacies que cis lions fu contrefais al vif." *Album de Villard de Honnecourt*, plates 47, 48; cf. 52, 53 (facsimile edition published by the Bibliothèque Nationale).

⁷⁵ Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2661, 2783, 2883, 3029. Cf. the three leopards sent to Henry III., Matthew Paris, *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 131, 407, 409.

ions of the chase—but it also fed a genuine scientific interest in animals and their habits. His *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, of which more will be said below, not only deals comprehensively with all the practical phases of the art, but begins with a systematic and careful discussion of the species, structure, and habits of birds, for which the author utilizes the *De Animalibus* of Aristotle, such previous treatises as he could find on the subject, and the results of his own observation and inquiry.⁷⁶ A similar interest appears in the case of horses, to whose breeding the emperor gave special attention and concerning whose diseases he ordered one of his marshals, the Calabrian knight, Giordano Ruffo, to prepare under imperial supervision a treatise, which was not completed until after Frederick's death. The first western manual of the veterinary art, this was widely popular, especially in Italy, being translated into many languages and imitated by the writers of the next generation.⁷⁷ Frederick's reputation as a hunter, if not his personal inspiration to authorship, may also be seen in the little treatise on hunting of a certain Guicennas, "master in every kind of hunting by the testimony of the hunters of Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans".⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Frederick's collections of works on falconry are known from the manuscripts of those which he had translated from the Arabic (*English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 347–350), and from the mention of two large illustrated volumes on falcons and dogs and the art of hunting, adorned with gold and silver and "imperatorie maiestatis effigie decoratus", which Guillelmus Bottatus of Milan offered to Charles of Anjou before 1265 (Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, Paris, 1778, II., preuves, no. 74; on the date cf. R. Sternfeld, *Karl von Anjou*, p. 218). From the description it is plain that this *édition de luxe* included more than Frederick's *De Arte* in the form which has reached us, but the marginal illustrations must have resembled those in the Vatican codex of the emperor's work. Possibly the two volumes were acquired in the loot of the emperor's treasury in 1248, and their disappearance might explain the incompleteness of the *De Arte* as worked over in the South. This copy may thus be the source of the citations which cannot be found in the known manuscripts of the *De Arte*.

⁷⁷ Edited by Molin (Padua, 1818). For manuscripts and translations, see L. Moulé, *Histoire de la Médecine Vétérinaire* (Paris, 1898), II. 25–30, where some account will be found of the later Italian treatises. See further Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxvi; *Romania*, XXIII. 350, XL. 353; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 985. This author is probably the Jordanus de Calabria who was made castellan of Ceseno in 1239 (Richard of San Germano, *ad annum*).

⁷⁸ "Incipit liber Guicennatis de arte bersandi. Si quis scire desideret de arte bersandi, in hoc tractatu cognoscere poterit magistratum. Huius autem artis liber vocatur Guicennas et rationabiliter vocatur Guicennas nomine cuiusdam militis Teotonici qui appellabatur Guicennas qui huius artis et libri prebuit materiam. Iste vero dominus Guicennas Teotonicus fuit magister in omni venatione et insuper summus omnium venatorum et specialiter in arte bersandi, sicut testificabantur magni barones et principes de Allemannia et maxime venatores excel-

The medical interests of the court are well attested, though they are not known to have produced notable additions to medical knowledge. Thus Pietro da Eboli, early in the reign, dedicated to Frederick his poem on the baths of Pozzuoli,⁷⁹ whose healing qualities the emperor was to put to proof after his illness in 1227.⁸⁰ The treatise of Adam of Cremona on the hygiene of the crusading army has already been mentioned, as has also the series of hygienic precepts formulated for the emperor by Master Theodore.⁸¹ Frederick seems to have shown some anxiety concerning paralysis, and a marvellous powder was current in his name, efficacious against many "chronic ailments of the head and the stomach".⁸² An incantation for the healing of wounds was also ascribed to him.⁸³ Frederick gave careful attention to personal hygiene in such matters as blood-letting,⁸⁴ diet, and bathing; indeed his Sunday bath was a cause of much scandal to good Christians.⁸⁵ One is reminded of the slander on the Middle Ages as a thousand years without a bath!

Without astrologers Frederick's court would not have been an Italian court of the thirteenth century, when even the universities had their professors of astrology.⁸⁶ Guido of Montefeltro kept in his employ one of the most distinguished and successful of medieval astrologers, Guido Bonatti, who is said to have directed his master's military expeditions from a campanile with the precision of a fire alarm: first bell, to arms; second, to horse; third, off to battle.⁸⁷

lentis viri domini Frederici Romanorum imperatoris. . ." Vatican, MS. Vat. lat. 5366, ff. 75v-78v (ca. 1300); MS. Reg. lat. 1227, ff. 66v-70 (fifteenth century). Guicennas, who is cited by writers on falconry, is identified with Avicenna by Werth but without any reasons given (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIII. 10).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the questions concerning this poem, see Ries, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXII. 576-593 (1911), and the works there cited.

⁸⁰ Winkelmann, I. 333.

⁸¹ See notes 25 and 42, above. In the Rossi MSS. recently acquired by the Vatican there are (MS. XI. 7) a series of 953 prescriptions in the name of "Maestro Bene medico dell'imperadore Federigo"; and a *Libro de Consigli de Poveri Infermi* ascribed to Michael Scot (MS. XI. 144).

⁸² Ed. Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 6, note.

⁸³ Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxviii.

⁸⁴ Michael Scot, Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 114v (*Isis*, IV.).

⁸⁵ John of Winterthur, ed. Wyss (Zurich, 1856), p. 8.

⁸⁶ Cf. T. O. Wedel, "The Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology", *Yale Studies in English*, LX., ch. 5; Novati, *Freschi e Minii*, pp. 129-134. Gerard of Sabonetta has left a register of his consultations, 1256-1260; B. Boncompagni, in *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia*, IV. 458 ff. (1851).

⁸⁷ Boncompagni, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Guido Bonatti* (Rome, 1851), pp. 6 ff.

Ezzelino da Romano also had Bonatti among his many astrologers, along with Master Salio, canon of Padua, Riprandino of Verona, and "a long-bearded Saracen named Paul, who came from Baldach on the confines of the far East, and by his origin, appearance, and actions deserved the name of a second Balaam".⁸⁸ There is no certain evidence that Guido Bonatti resided at Frederick's court, but he tells us that he discovered the conspiracy of 1247 by the stars at Forlì and sent timely word to the emperor at Grosseto.⁸⁹ Of the emperor's astrologers we know by name only Michael Scot and Theodore, but his enemies exulted over the troop of astrologers and magicians which this devotee of Beelzebub, Ashtaroth, and other demons lost in the great defeat before Parma.⁹⁰ It is plain that much reliance was placed on such advice, even in quite personal matters.⁹¹ Scot prided himself on his successful predictions of campaigns and the avoidance of unfavorable seasons;⁹² another astrologer guided the emperor through a breach in the wall at Vicenza in 1236;⁹³ and Theodore stood on the tower of Padua in 1239 seeking a fortunate conjunction for an expedition which was ultimately turned back by an eclipse.⁹⁴ Indeed the story ran that Frederick avoided Florence because of an astrologer's prediction, and recognized when it was too late that the obscure Fiorentino would be the scene of his death.⁹⁵ The literary output of the *magna curia* in this field is represented by Scot's three treatises, the *Physiognomy*, *Liber Introductorius*, and *Liber Particularis*, all dedicated to the emperor, the *Physiognomy* being designed to aid him directly in his judgment of men. Indeed Scot speaks of "the new astrology" as proudly as writers now speak of the new chemistry or the new history.⁹⁶

With astrology there naturally went a considerable amount of

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 29-32; Muratori, VIII. 344, 705, XIV. 930.

⁸⁹ Boncompagni, *Guido*, p. 24; Guido Bonatti, *Decem Libri de Astronomia*, tractatus IV., cons. 58. I have used the Venice edition of 1506 in the Boston Public Library. The Augsburg edition of 1491 (Hain, 3461*), listed as at Brown University in the *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America*, seems to be an error. On the conspiracy of 1246, see Böhmer-Ficker, no. 3547a.

⁹⁰ Albert of Behaim, ed. Höfler, pp. 126, 128. On Frederick's devotion to astrology, see also Saba Malaspina, in Muratori, VIII. 788.

⁹¹ Matthew Paris, in *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 131; cf. Scot's *Physiognomy*.

⁹² Munich, cod. lat. 10648, ff. 114v, 118; MS. n. a. lat. 1401, f. 99v (in *Isis*, 1922). Cf. Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 353, 360, 512, 530; *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII. 486.

⁹³ Antonio Godi, in Muratori, VIII. 83.

⁹⁴ *Ib.*, VIII. 228 ff.

⁹⁵ *Ib.*, VIII. 788.

⁹⁶ "Qui vero hos duos libros plene noverit ac sciverit operari nomen novi astrologi optinebit." *Liber Particularis*, Bodleian, MS. Canon. Misc. 555, f. 1v.

astronomy, for astrology is only applied astronomy, wrongly applied as we now believe, but a thoroughly practical subject in the eyes of the later Middle Ages. The works of Michael Scot show familiarity with Ptolemy and the principal Arabic writers on astronomy, already translated in the twelfth century; and the Hebrew versions of Ptolemy and his abbreviators by Jacob Anatoli are further evidence of attention to this science. The mathematical interests of the court reach their highest expression in the relations with Leonard of Pisa, in which, it will be remembered, the emperor himself took an active part. Frederick's own work shows an acquaintance with the fundamentals of geometry,⁹⁷ and while in the East he sought out the company of mathematicians and astronomers.⁹⁸ His castles show much interest in architecture, the towers at Capua being designed with his own hand;⁹⁹ indeed we are told that he was "skilled in all mechanical arts to which he gave himself".¹⁰⁰ No direct contributions to mathematical literature have, however, been connected with the Sicilian court.

The philosophical interests of the court were strongly marked. Frederick was well trained in logic, even taking a master of dialectic with him on the crusade, and his *De Arte* shows familiarity with scholastic terminology and classification. His mind, however, was in no sense formal but actively questioning, and the range of his inquiries touched far-reaching problems of the universe and the human soul, as we shall see from his questionnaires. The doctrines of Averroes were well known and often discussed at his court, so that Moham-medan writers considered him no Christian at heart;¹⁰¹ and many European contemporaries shook their heads over the current stories of his scepticism and unbelief.¹⁰²

How far the scientific life of Frederick's court was fed by new versions of the works of Aristotle and his commentators, it is not easy to say. By 1215 western Europe knew not only the logical treatises, but the *Metaphysics*, the *Ethics*, and the principal writings on natural philosophy. New versions, often with the commentaries of Averroes and Avicenna, continued to appear in the course of the thirteenth century, but few of these can be specifically connected with

⁹⁷ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 346.

⁹⁸ *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, IX. 119.

⁹⁹ Richard of San Germano, *Scriptores*, XIX. 372.

¹⁰⁰ Muratori, IX. 132, 661.

¹⁰¹ Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, II. 254; Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, VII. 810; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, I. 73 ff.

¹⁰² *E.g.*, Matthew Paris, *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 147, 230, 416; Salimbene, p. 349.

Sicily.¹⁰³ Roger Bacon, it is true, speaks of the appearance of Michael Scot *ca.* 1230, hearing "certain parts of the natural philosophy and metaphysics with the authentic commentaries", as constituting a turning-point in Aristotelian studies;¹⁰⁴ but this seems to be one of the occasions when the friar is speaking loosely. The only work of Aristotle first translated by Scot was the *De Animalibus*, in a version made before he joined the Sicilian court, and the only new versions of texts already known which are certainly by him are the *De Caelo* and *De Anima*, with the commentary of Averroes.¹⁰⁵ To these should be added Scot's Latin abbreviation of Avicenna's commentary on the *De Animalibus*, which is dedicated to the emperor before 1232,¹⁰⁶ and the Hebrew versions of Averroes's commentary on the *Logic* made by Jacob Anatoli for Frederick in or about that year.¹⁰⁷ At the same time other works of the Stagyrte were freely used at the court. Thus Scot quotes the *Ethics* and draws largely on the *Meteorology*,¹⁰⁸ while Theodore the philosopher cites the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics*, as well as the *Secretum Secretorum*.¹⁰⁹ The emperor himself, in the *De Arte Venandi*, draws on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mechanics* as well as on the *De Animalibus*.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless what was new in all this was Averroes rather than Aristotle, nor can we be certain, as investigation now stands, that the Sicilian school did more than give wider currency to treatises and doctrines of Averroes which had already begun to spread from Spain.

Frederick has been called "an unrestrained admirer of Aristotle",¹¹¹ but his own writings are far from bearing this out. We

¹⁰³ See, in general, A. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843); and M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die Lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1916). For the *Logic*, see Haskins, "Mediaeval Versions of the Posterior Analytics", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXV. 87-105 (1914); and for the *Ethics*, A. Pelzer, "Les Versions Latines des Ouvrages de Morale conservés sous le Nom d'Aristote", in *Revue Néo-scholastique*, XXIII. 316-341, 378-400 (1921).

¹⁰⁴ *Opus Majus*, ed. Bridges, I. 55, III. 66; *Monumenta, Scriptores*, XXVIII. 571.

¹⁰⁵ Besides Grabmann, see my article on "Michael Scot", in *Isis*, IV. (1922).

¹⁰⁶ J. Wood Brown, *Michael Scot*, pp. 53 ff., corrected in *Isis*, 1922. The University of Michigan has a copy of the printed text of this version.

¹⁰⁷ See note 47, above.

¹⁰⁸ *Isis*, 1922; *Revue Néo-scholastique*, XXIII. 326, n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 349; *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 4-8. On the new version of the *Secretum Secretorum* attributed to Philip of Tripoli, see now Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, V. xviii-xxii.

¹¹⁰ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 345-347.

¹¹¹ Biehringer, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Berlin, 1912), p. 244. Frederick's devotion. AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXVII.—46.

have, he says in the preface to the *De Arte*, followed the prince of philosophers where required, but not in all things, for we have learned by experience that at several points he deviates from the truth. Aristotle relies too much on hearsay, and has evidently "rarely or never had experience of falconry, which we have loved and practised all our life". More than once he must be directly corrected from the emperor's observation—*non sic se habet*.

It is this experimental habit of mind, the emperor's restless desire to see and know for himself, which lies behind those *superstitiones et curiositates* at which the good Salimbene holds up his hands.¹¹² There is the story of the man whom Frederick shut up in a wine-cask to prove that the soul died with the body, and the two men whom he disembowelled in order to show the respective effects of sleep and exercise on digestion. There were the children whom he caused to be brought up in silence in order to settle the question "whether they would speak Hebrew, which was the first language, or Greek or Latin or Arabic or at least the language of their parents; but he labored in vain, for the children all died". There was the diver, Nicholas, surnamed the Fish, hero of Schiller's *Der Taucher*, whom he sent repeatedly to explore the watery fastnesses of Scylla and Charybdis, and the memory of whose exploits was handed on by the Friars Minor of Messina,¹¹³ not to mention the "other superstitions and curiosities and maledictions and incredulities and perversities and abuses" which the friar of Parma had set down in another chronicle now lost.¹¹⁴ Such again was the story of the great pike brought to the Elector Palatine in 1497, in its gills a copper ring placed there by Frederick to test the longevity of fish, and still bearing the inscription in Greek, "I am that fish which Emperor Frederick II. placed in this lake with

tion to Aristotle has been argued from a letter ascribed to him which transmits new versions of Aristotle's work to some university, but I agree with most recent scholars in assigning this letter to Manfred and connecting it with the translations of the *Magna Moralia* and various pseudo-Aristotelian treatises made by his direction. See Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 156, with French translation; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica*, IV. 383; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I., no. 394; Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta*, no. 4750; Schirrmacher, *Die Letzten Hohenstaufen* (Göttingen, 1871), p. 624; Grabmann, *Aristotelesübersetzungen*, pp. 200–204, 237 ff.; Helene M. Arndt, *Studien zur Inneren Regierungsgeschichte Manfreds* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 149; Pelzer, in *Revue Néo-scholastique*, XXIII. 319 ff.

¹¹² Ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 350–353.

¹¹³ The story appears also in Francesco Pippini (Muratori, IX. 669), Riccobaldo of Ferrara (*ib.*, IX. 248), and Jacopo d'Acqui (*Neues Archiv*, XVII. 500).

¹¹⁴ Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 351. On Frederick's insatiable curiosity, see also Malaspina, in Muratori, VIII. 788.

his own hand the fifth day of October, 1230".¹¹⁵ On another occasion Frederick is said to have sent messengers to Norway in order to verify the existence of a spring which turned to stone garments and other objects immersed therein.¹¹⁶

Whatever value these tales may have, the emperor's scientific habit of mind is seen best of all in his own writings. His treatise on falconry, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*,¹¹⁷ is compact of personal observation of the habits of birds, especially falcons, carried on throughout a busy life of sport and study, and verified by birds and falconers brought from distant lands. Indeed, his systematic use for such inquiries of the resources of his royal administration constitutes an interesting example of the pursuit of research by governmental agencies. "Not without great expense", he tells us, "did we call to ourselves from afar those who were expert in this art, extracting from them whatever they knew best and committing to memory their sayings and practices." "When we crossed the sea we saw the Arabs using a hood in falconry, and their kings sent us those most skilled in this art, with many species of falcons." The emperor not only tested the artificial incubation of hens' eggs,¹¹⁸ but, on hearing that ostrich eggs were hatched by the sun in Egypt, he had eggs and experts brought to Apulia that he might test the matter for himself. The fable that barnacle geese were hatched from barnacles he exploded by sending north for such barnacles, concluding that the story arose from ignorance of the actual nesting-places of the geese. Whether vultures find their food by sight or by smell he ascertained by seeling their eyes while their nostrils remained open. Nests, eggs, and birds were repeatedly brought to him for observation and note, and the minute accuracy of his descriptions attests the fidelity with which his observations were made. The whole of the practical portion of his *De Arte* is a setting down in systematic form of the results of actual practice of the art. The author's statements are supported by facts rather than by authority or mere personal opinion, and if information is lacking no conclusion is drawn. One who reads the *De Arte* through gets inevitably the impression of the work of a first-rate mind, open,

¹¹⁵ A. Hauber, "Kaiser Friedrich der Staufer und der Langlebige Fisch", in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, III. 315-329 (1911), brings together the various reports but shows that the date 1230 is impossible.

¹¹⁶ The original has "in regione Armenie Norwegie". Extract from medieval encyclopaedia published by Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXXII., part I., p. 48; *Monumenta, Scriptores*, XXVIII. 571.

¹¹⁷ See my article in the *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 334-355 (July, 1921). I have used the copy of Schneider's edition in the library of Columbia University.

¹¹⁸ Michael Scot, Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 117 (*Isis*, IV.).

inquiring, realistic, trying to see things as they are without *parti pris*, and working throughout on the basis of systematized experience. To follow this up by a course of reading in the confused and pretentious astrology of Michael Scot is to realize how far the emperor was intellectually superior to those about him.

Observation and experiment on a large scale Frederick supplemented by the questionnaire, applied not only to the scholars of his court and the experts who came at his summons, but to savants of other lands whom he could not interrogate personally. The method seems to have been to draw up a list of questions upon which the emperor could get no final or satisfactory response at home, and to send them to other rulers, most naturally the Mohammedan princes, requesting that they be submitted to the leading local scholars for answer, a procedure which assumes autocratic governments like that which Frederick himself utilized to satisfy intellectual curiosity. Such was the practice followed in the most famous instance, the so-called Sicilian questions published by Amari many years ago.¹¹⁹ According to the response which has reached us, Frederick, not long before 1242, sent a series of questions to be answered by Mohammedan philosophers in Egypt, Syria, Irak, Asia Minor, and Yemen, and later to the Almohad caliph of Morocco, ar-Rashid, by whom they were forwarded, with a sum of money as the emperor's reward, to Ibn Sabin, a Spanish philosopher then living at Ceuta. Refusing the money, Ibn Sabin answers at some length in terms of Mohammedan orthodoxy, expressing some contempt for Frederick's attainments as seen in his untechnical phraseology, and offering to set him right in a personal interview. The emperor's questions, as they are here cited in refutation, cover the eternity of matter and the immortality of the soul, the end and foundations of theology, and the number and nature of the categories—demanding always the proofs of the opinions advanced in reply. Thus: "Aristotle the sage in all his writings declares clearly the existence of the world from all eternity. If he demonstrates this, what are his arguments, and if not, what is the nature of his reasoning on this matter?" Plainly Frederick was familiar with the Aristotelian doctrines which agitated the Christian and Mohammedan worlds in the thirteenth century, indeed there was a legend that Averroes had lived at his court.¹²⁰ The very suggestion

¹¹⁹ M. Amari, "Questions Philosophiques adressées aux Savants Musulmans par l'Empereur Frédéric II.", in *Journal Asiatique*, fifth ser., I. 240-274 (1853); *id.*, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, II. 414-419; more fully by A. F. Mehren, in *Journal Asiatique*, seventh ser., XIV. 341-454 (1879). Cf. the problems proposed by Chosroes, published by Quicherat, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XIV. 248-263 (1853).

¹²⁰ Renan, *Averroès* (1869), pp. 254, 291.

of doubt respecting immortality was enough to justify the current belief that Frederick was one of those Epicurean heretics "who make the soul die with the body".

We hear also of geometrical and astronomical problems sent by the emperor as far as Mosul, and we have another series of geometrical questions sent by one of Frederick's philosophers, in Arabic, to the young Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen in Toledo, together with the replies, at which the emperor expressed much satisfaction.¹²¹ Again we learn that in the time of al-Malik al-Kamil, sultan of Egypt (1218-1238), the emperor set seven hard problems in order to test Moslem scholars. Three of these, which concern optics, have been preserved with their answers: Why do objects partly covered by water appear bent? Why does Canopus appear bigger when near the horizon, whereas the absence of moisture in the southern deserts precludes that as an explanation? What is the cause of the illusion of spots before the eyes?¹²²

Another and a less technical questionnaire has been handed down to us by Michael Scot; and as it does not appear to have been hitherto published or even cited by others, it may not be uninteresting to translate it as it stands in the manuscripts:¹²³

When Frederick, emperor of Rome and always enlarger of the empire, had long meditated according to the order which he had established concerning the various things which are and appear to be on the earth, above, within, and beneath it, on a certain occasion he privately summoned me, Michael Scot, faithful to him among all astrologers, and secretly put to me at his pleasure a series of questions concerning the foundations of the earth and the marvels within it, as follows:

"My dearest master, we have often and in divers ways listened to questions and solutions from one and another concerning the heavenly bodies, that is the sun, moon, and fixed stars, the elements, the soul of the world, peoples pagan and Christian, and other creatures above and on the earth, such as plants and metals; yet we have heard nothing respecting those secrets which pertain to the delight of the spirit and the wisdom thereof, such as paradise, purgatory, hell, and the foundations and marvels of the earth. Wherefore we pray you, by your love of knowledge and the reverence you bear our crown, explain to us the foundations of the earth, that is to say how it is established over the abyss and how the abyss

¹²¹ Steinschneider, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, XXXI., part II., 106 ff. (1886); *id.*, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 3; *id.*, *Verzeichniss der Hebräischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II. 126 (1897).

¹²² E. Wiedemann, "Fragen aus dem Gebiet der Naturwissenschaften, gestellt von Friedrich II.", in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XI. 483-485 (1914).

¹²³ *Liber Particularis*, in the Bodleian, MS. Canon. Misc. 555, f. 44v; the Ambrosian, MS. L. sup. 92, f. 69; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. n. a. 1401, f. 156v, the only manuscript to give the portions in brackets. I have edited the Latin text from these manuscripts in the forthcoming number of *Isis* (1922). See also MS. Rossi IX. 111 in the Vatican, f. 37 (of the year 1308).

stands beneath the earth, and whether there is anything else than air and water which supports the earth, and whether it stands of itself or rests on the heavens beneath it. Also how many heavens there are and who are their rulers and principal inhabitants, and exactly how far one heaven is from another, and by how much one is greater than another, and what is beyond the last heaven if there are several; and in which heaven God is in the person of His divine majesty and how He sits on His throne, and how He is accompanied by angels and saints, and what these continually do before God. Tell us also how many abysses there are and the names of the spirits that dwell therein, and just where are hell, purgatory, and the heavenly paradise, whether under or on or above the earth [or above or in the abysses, and what is the difference between the souls who are daily borne thither and the spirits which fell from heaven; and whether one soul in the next world knows another and whether one can return to this life to speak and show one's self; and how many are the pains of hell.] Tell us also the measure of this earth by thickness and length, and the distance from the earth to the highest heaven and to the abyss, and whether there is one abyss or several; and if several how far one is from another; and whether the earth has empty spaces or is a solid body like a living stone; and how far it is from the surface of the earth down to the lower heaven.

"Likewise tell us how it happens that the waters of the sea are so bitter and the waters are salt in many places and some waters away from the sea are sweet although they all come from the living sea. Tell us too concerning the sweet waters how they continually gush forth from the earth and sometimes from stones and trees, as from vines when they are pruned in the springtime, where they have their source and how it is that certain waters come forth sweet and fresh, some clear, others turbid, others thick and gummy; for we greatly wonder at these things, knowing already that all waters come from the sea and passing through divers lands and cavities return to the sea, which is the bed and receptacle of all running waters. Hence we should like to know whether there is one place by itself which has sweet water only and one with salt water only, or if there is one place for both kinds, and in this case how the two kinds of water are so unlike, since by reason of difference of color, taste, and movement there would seem to be two places. So, if there are two places for these waters, we wish to be informed which is the greater and which the smaller, and how the running waters in all parts of the world seem to pour forth of their superabundance continually from their source, and although their flow is copious yet they do not increase as if more were added beyond the common measure but remain constant at a flow which is uniform or nearly so. We should like to know further whence come the salt and bitter waters which gush forth in some places, and the fetid waters in many baths and pools, whether they come of themselves or from elsewhere; likewise concerning those waters which come forth warm or hot or boiling as if in a caldron on a blazing fire, whence they come and how it is that some of them are always muddy and some always clear. Also we should like to know concerning the wind which issues from many parts of the earth, and the fire which bursts from plains as well as from mountains, and likewise what produces the smoke which appears now in one place and now in another, and what causes its blasts, as is seen in parts of Sicily and Messina, as Etna, Vulcano, Lipari, and Stromboli.

How comes it that a flaming fire appears not only from the earth but also in certain parts of the sea of India?

[“ And how is it that the soul of a living man which has passed away to another life than ours cannot be induced to return by first love or even by hate, just as if it had been nothing, nor does it seem to care at all for what it has left behind whether it be saved or lost?”]

A notable series of questions this, in spite of a certain amount of confusion and repetition which may be due to the less clear medium of Michael Scot through which they have been transmitted. Besides the previous discussions which they assume respecting astronomy, geography, and natural history, they cut to the heart of the current cosmology, which readers of Dante will recognize, with an insistent demand for exact and definite information. Just where are heaven and hell and purgatory; exactly how far is one heaven or one abyss from another; what is the structure of the earth and the explanation of its fires and waters—questions that might easily have cost Michael Scot his reputation, in spite of his boastful promise to answer them all, and may well have led him to seek to measure the distance to heaven by means of a church tower with an apparent exactness which seems to have imposed on the emperor.¹²⁴ Astronomy and cosmology cannot avoid theology: In which heaven is God to be found, and where are the souls of the departed, and why do they not communicate with us for love or even hate? “Or even hate”—a very human touch which shows us Frederick’s own passion in the midst of the eternal riddles and reminds us of that hatred for Viterbo which he would come back from Paradise to assuage.¹²⁵ And here as in the stories of Moslem writers we recognize the note of scepticism, the trace of that Epicurean heretic whose lurid figure haunts one of the thousand fiery tombs of the tenth canto of the *Inferno*.

The nature of Frederick’s ultimate religious opinions lies beyond the ken of the historian, for we have no direct statements of his own beyond his general assertions of orthodoxy, against many highly colored stories from his enemies. When, however, Gregory IX. accuses him of declaring that one should believe only in what is proved by the force and reason of nature,¹²⁶ the assertion falls in entirely with what we know of Frederick’s habit of mind. Profoundly rationalistic, he applied the test of reason and experience to affairs of state

¹²⁴ See the passage printed in *Isis*, IV.

¹²⁵ *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 30.

¹²⁶ Encyclical of July 1, 1239, in Huillard-Bréholles, V. 340; Böhmer-Ficker, no. 7245; Potthast, no. 10766. Frederick’s reply is in Huillard-Bréholles, V. 348 (Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2454, 2455); see also the examination of his orthodoxy in 1246, *ib.*, VI. 426, 615 (Böhmer-Ficker, no. 3543).

as well as to matters of science, as the body of his Sicilian legislation abundantly testifies. When he abolishes the ordeal, his reason is that it is not in accord with nature and does not lead to truth.¹²⁷ In matters of commercial policy, "he was the first medieval ruler to use consistent economic principles as his standards".¹²⁸ *Immutator mirabilis*, he has none of the medieval horror of change. Yet it is scarcely historical to call him a modern, for he looks in both directions. He harks back to King Roger and the Mohammedan East, while in his many-sided patronage of learning and his free and critical spirit of inquiry he belongs rather to the Italian Renaissance. Only in part does he belong to the thirteenth century, and he was in no sense its type. He was above all an individual, *stupor mundi* to his own age, and a marvel still to ours.

Frederick's favorite son, Manfred, appears linked with his father in Dante's mention of the two illustrious heroes who, while fortune lasted, despised the merely brutal and followed humane pursuits.¹²⁹ Certainly Manfred inherited many of his father's tastes and something of the same habit of mind, and his court continued much of the scientific activity of the earlier reign.¹³⁰ He tells us that the masters of his father's court¹³¹ taught him the nature of the world and the properties of both the transient and the eternal. At the age of twenty-five he fortified himself during a severe illness with the teachings of the treatise *De Pomo*,¹³² then ascribed to Aristotle, and on his recovery had it translated from Hebrew into Latin. Latin versions of the *Magna Moralia* and pseudo-Aristotelian works, apparently those sent by the king to the students of Paris, were made directly from the Greek by an official translator, Bartholomew of Messina,¹³³ who also translated at Manfred's command the veterinary

¹²⁷ Hampe, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 14.

¹²⁸ Jastrow-Winter, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen*, II. 549.

¹²⁹ *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I. c. 12.

¹³⁰ See, in general, Schirrmacher, *Die Letzten Hohenstaufen*, pp. 209-216; Capasso, *Historia Diplomatica Regni Siciliae*, p. 324 ff.; Helene M. Arndt, *Studien zur Inneren Regierungsgeschichte Manfreds*, c. 4; O. Cartellieri, "König Manfred", in *Centenario Michele Amari* (Palermo, 1910), I. 116-138.

¹³¹ The arguments of Hampe, *Neues Archiv*, XXXVI. 231 ff., and Arndt, pp. 146 ff., that Manfred was a student at Bologna and Paris, are to me unconvincing.

¹³² Preface in Huillard-Bréholles, *Monuments de la Maison de Souabe*, p. 169; Schirrmacher, p. 622; Capasso, p. 112, note; Böhmer-Ficker, no. 4653. Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 268, who thinks it unlikely that the king himself was the translator.

¹³³ *Supra*, note 111. Another translator, Nicholas of Sicily, may belong to this same group. Grabmann, p. 203.

treatise of Hierocles.¹³⁴ Translation from the Arabic is represented by an astrological treatise turned into Latin by Stephen of Messina and also dedicated to the king,¹³⁵ and by a set of astronomical and astrological tables translated by John "de Dumpno" and preserved in a fine codex at Madrid.¹³⁶ Manfred's knowledge of philosophy and mathematics, especially Euclid, as well as of languages, is praised by an Egyptian visitor, who dedicated to him a work on logic,¹³⁷ and a further illustration of his philosophical tastes is found in a disputation in which he asks whether members exist because of their functions or functions because of their members, the final "determination" of this scholastic dispute being made by that *gemma magistrorum et laurea morum*, Master Petrus de Hibernia.¹³⁸

Like his father, Manfred had his menagerie, including a giraffe from the East,¹³⁹ and he also shared his father's devotion to astrology¹⁴⁰ and to sportsmanship. The *De Arte Venandi*, originally dedicated to Manfred, has come down to us as he revised it, with certain additions from his own observations but primarily with the aim of filling blanks in the original by the aid of his father's notes, reading and rereading the book with filial piety that he might obtain the full fruits of its science and that no scribal errors might be left to frustrate the author's purpose.¹⁴¹ This was only one of the numerous books by many hands which filled the presses of the royal library,¹⁴² including philosophical and mathematical works in Greek and Arabic, certain of which are believed to have gone as a present to the pope from the victorious Charles of Anjou,¹⁴³ and thus served to hand on

¹³⁴ MSS. at Pisa and Bologna: *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, VIII. 395, XVII. 76; *Rheinisches Museum*, n.s., XLVI. 377 (1891).

¹³⁵ Steinschneider, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX. 4, p. 78; also in MS. Madrid 10009, f. 225.

¹³⁶ Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 10023, ff. 1-23: "Perfectus est interpretatio et translatio istarum portarum de arabico in latinum per Iohannem de Dumpno filium Philippi de Dumpno in civitate Panormi anno a nativitate domini nostri Ieso Christi 1262, sub laude et gloria omnipotentis Dei feliciter amen".

¹³⁷ Djemal-Edin, in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, VII. 367; *Revue Historique*, LXXX. 64.

¹³⁸ Text published by Baemker, "Petrus de Hibernia", in *Munich Sitzungsberichte*, 1920.

¹³⁹ Röhricht, *Beiträge*, I. 74.

¹⁴⁰ Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxii; Arndt, p. 151.

¹⁴¹ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 338.

¹⁴² "Librorum ergo volumina, quorum multifarie multisque modis distincta cyrographa diviciarum nostrarum armaria locupletant." *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I., no. 394.

¹⁴³ Heiberg, in *Oversigt of the Danish Academy*, 1891, pp. 305-318; Ehrle, in *Festgabe Anton de Waal* (Rome, 1913), pp. 348-351.

something of the scientific interests of Manfred and of Frederick to a later age. At best, however, Manfred's court is but an echo of that of Frederick, and under the Angevins the intellectual history of Sicilian royalty enters upon a new and different period.¹⁴⁴

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

¹⁴⁴ On translations under Charles of Anjou, see Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, edition of 1886, III. 483-489; Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III. 185-188.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN ECONOMY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA¹

THERE are three questions raised by this paper: firstly, whether national economy has any real validity as a unit or organization in production; secondly, whether metropolitan economy, or the dominance of the large commercial city, should be put in its place; and thirdly, what evidence concerning metropolitan development is to be found in European and American history. From the framing of these questions, it is, of course, to be inferred that the thesis of this paper is that metropolitan economy should be substituted for national economy as the latest stage in general economic development.

The reality of the nation as a political unit has been so great for so long a time that no one, liking or disliking nationalism, could have any doubts about it. With the political side of the nation we have, however, little or nothing to do. It is rather the economic aspects of the national unit with which we are immediately concerned.

One of the various meanings of national economy is an organization for administering the economic affairs of the nation. The state administers in at least two important ways. First, it passes laws aiding business (*inter alia*), some of which set up standards such as weights and measures and quality of goods, while others establish limitations, for example, on prices and wages. Secondly, the state also administers directly by setting up a system of coinage, a judicial service, a post-office, and so on. An examination of such helps to business shows that they are not unlike the services performed by the state at various times for other human activities. The nation has enacted laws concerning the family, the health of cattle that can be marketed, and the practice of medicine. But who is there to say that for this reason we have a national family, national cattle, and a national medicine? And likewise who will maintain that, because the state performs important services for economic life, we have national economy in the sense of national production?

In time of war the nation's control of production may become complete. In a socialistic state, as in Russia to-day, state ownership may prevail. In Germany Hugo Stinnes may become more powerful than the Kaiser ever was, may conceivably own the whole nation or

¹ A paper read at the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1921.

hold it in pawn. And yet none of these things would of necessity materially change the organization of production. The same principles of economy and efficiency would ultimately prevail.

National economy as an organization in economic administration has existed in peace and in war, for centuries in Western Europe and for generations in Eastern Europe. It prevailed while village economy was the unit of production and when town economy took its place. And if we should suddenly create a world state with powers of economic administration, we should not see much, if any, change in the public unit or organization of production.

The national economic administration has been carried on in accordance with certain policies, good or bad, but of course acceptable to the day and generation. During the stages of village and town economy, the state policy was generally fiscal. In some advanced countries of Europe, this gave way in the sixteenth century to mercantilism, which, as we all know, was as restrictive as the fiscal policy had been liberal. In time, mercantilism was weakened by, and in some countries gave way to, *laissez-faire*, which in a sense was a return to the old-time fiscal policy. And within the last generation or two we see a tendency to return to a policy somewhat akin to mercantilism in its directive influence and its concentration of power in the hands of the government; but while mercantilism aimed at national material strength, the new policy aims at social well-being.

It is an interesting and important fact that the study of economics, significantly called "political economy", which has influenced us most began with mercantilism, usually dated from the sixteenth century. And this mercantilism was but little more than the old town policy "writ large" in the affairs of the state. In all probability this led to the practice of making the nation follow the town as the town had followed the village in the history of production.

I accept national economy as a unit or organization in economic control and administration. I accept it as having a secondary meaning, national policy, found frequently in America not long ago. But I cannot find any excuse for regarding it as a unit in production on a par with village and town economy. By a unit of production is, of course, meant an organization of producers based on a division of labor, wherein, for example, the villagers performed special services chiefly in agriculture and the townsmen chiefly in the retail trade. Thus it is quite different from ownership, policy, or administration, though in the village stage, it is true, the administrative and the productive units coincided, but not in the town or subsequent stages.

Over a generation ago Schmoller rightly, as I think, emphasized

the element of politics and administration when beginning his articles on mercantilism and national economy. But as he sped along, he extended the idea of national economy from a unit in administration to a unit in actual production. He thought he saw a national agriculture, a national industry, national shipping and fisheries, a national division of labor, and a national trade, first conceived and then developed like the national currency and the national banking system.²

Shortly afterwards, Bücher, reacting from Schmoller's declared intention of emphasizing political forces, arrived at a similar conclusion. He, too, spoke of a national industry, a national market, and national commercial institutions.³ His main idea is that just as the household of yore and the later town had been self-sufficing, so was the nation "an exceedingly complex and ingenious system" for meeting its own needs.⁴ And accordingly, to him economic liberalism, free trade, and world-wide exchange of goods are ephemeral phenomena. Bücher began by emphasizing production and ended by proclaiming a national market. He set out to emphasize the exchange relationships of producer and consumer and finished by discovering that the nation was the present and ultimate unit in production. Brilliant as Bücher's essays are and great as has been their influence on teaching and research, they are nevertheless, as I think, untenable. Bücher himself has recanted in respect to his first stage of household economy, at any rate as applied to Greece, Carthagina, and Rome. German critics have proved his concept of an exclusive town economy incorrect. It seems that his theory of national economy as a unit or organization of production is also unacceptable. Bücher maintained that "Each portion of the country, each section of the population, must in the service of the whole take over those duties that its natural endowments best fitted it to perform."⁵ This was supposed to begin in the sixteenth century when town economy was declining, but I find such geographical specialization at a much earlier date, in fact in part inevitable from the beginning. Long before the sixteenth century, Englishmen obtained their tin from one section, their coal and iron each from two sections, certain fine cloths from another, and their novelties largely from a very few towns.

More serious is the idea that the nation exists unto itself. The national boundaries may deflect but they do not bind. And indeed the whole tendency of progressive countries is to increase their for-

² *Mercantile System*, p. 59.

³ *Industrial Evolution*, p. 138.

⁴ P. 126.

⁵ P. 135.

eign trade. Just now we in the United States are suffering from a set-back to this development. Moreover, some parts of a state may be economically more closely connected with parts of nearby states than with other parts of the same state. This is notably true of Nova Scotia, which trades so largely with New England. And it promises to be true of Strasbourg, which can hardly find as ready an outlet through Paris as it has in the past down the Rhine. A national trade is as much a fiction as a national industry or a national agriculture. The nation as such does not trade, nor is it economically a unit. Of course, I am considering organization in production, not in administration, fact not policy, accomplishment not ambition.

Although Bücher's quest for an *organization* in production was laudable, his choice of a *national* organization was unfortunate. This leads us to a consideration of the second of the three questions announced at the beginning: shall we substitute metropolitan economy for national economy, as the latest stage in the development of production?

By metropolitan economy is meant the concentration of the trade of a wide area in one great city. While the radius of the area dominated commercially by the medieval town had rarely been more than a score of miles, the radius of the area dominated by a metropolis is roughly a hundred miles or more in length. The metropolis itself is the centre not only for the area of the local trade but also for the trade between metropolitan units. Or, concretely stated, trade from the provinces centred in London, and in Paris, and the provinces around both capitals ordinarily traded and still trade with one another largely through their metropolitan centres. It is unfortunate for purposes of illustration that each of these cities is a political as well as an economic metropolis, and yet these very instances point to the fact that often political and economic forces work in the same direction. In both cities were centralized not only the political but also the economic life of wide areas.

The structure of the metropolitan economic unit is made up, firstly, of the metropolis itself with its merchants, bankers, warehousemen, transport officials, and other specialized men of business; and secondly, of the district or hinterland with its towns and villages, its countryside of farms, forests, streams, and mines. The metropolis and its hinterland are integral parts of the metropolitan unit, but they are not constant in the areas which they occupy. While the metropolis itself widens its confines with general economic development, the hinterland decreases in size. The area occupied by greater London increases year by year, while the hinterland diminishes as Manchester-

Liverpool grows in strength and influence. Greater Chicago grows while its hinterland is being nibbled away by Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, and the Twin Cities.

The essential part of metropolitan economy is not size or structure but function. The metropolis concentrates the trade of a wide district. It is the gathering-place for the products of that district. It is also the place from which wares already concentrated from many lands and sections radiate to the whole hinterland. Moreover, it is, as has been said, the point through which the hinterland normally trades with other metropolitan units. It is more economical for a few dealers in a metropolis to specialize in the inter-metropolitan trade, which is usually wholesale, than for traders located in small towns in the hinterland to maintain connections and credits with distant parts. If we wish to visualize the whole metropolitan mechanism we have only to think of a web with the master spider in the centre. The concentration and radiation of such a pattern are in marked contrast to the duplication and parallelism of the alternative checker-board. The saving in materials, labor, and management is enormous; otherwise the spider would not have so constructed its net. Metropolitan economy likewise exists because of its efficiency as a unit in production. Public policy, national administration, even socialism would hardly long continue an attempt to alter so economical an organization.

It is the metropolitan unit that supplants the town unit of former times. If we cast our thought no farther back than the permanent settlement of clans and tribes, we see that there are three general stages which sum up much of the economic life of the times: village economy, town economy, and metropolitan economy. Each is a unit of production. Each has a centre of trade, though the importance of trade is, of course, not so great at first as later. It should be pointed out that recent studies show that village or manorial self-sufficiency is a very questionable matter. I go farther still in regarding the village, like the town, as a centre for trade, though the trade of the town was specialized while that of the village was not. In the progression from one stage to another we see not only a greater specialization, but a greater general division of labor, a larger surplus and store of goods, and more immunity from distress and famine.

The second question has now been answered. Metropolitan economy, it seems, should be put in the place of national economy. The reason for this is partly that there is no national organization of production, while there is a metropolitan organization, and partly that metropolitan economy is on a par with the other and older economic

units. Structurally the village (generally) and the town and the metropolitan units always had each a nucleus with an area round about. Functionally town and metropolitan economy had a division of labor between the centre and the area that constituted the basis of economic efficiency and progress. On the other hand, in the national economic unit, assuming for the moment that such exists, there is no one centre holding all the rest of the state in economic subordination. At one time, to be sure, London was the only great commercial centre in England, but its dominance over the farthestmost parts of England was doubtful and, as has been implied, its relative importance has been diminishing. In England there are London and Liverpool-Manchester that are nuclei of important hinterlands. In France there are Paris, and perhaps Lyons-Marseilles, and Bordeaux; and in America at least eleven such nuclei of commerce. Of course it is true that there is one centre in each nation that is more prominent than the rest, for example, London, Paris, and New York. The position of such centres, however, is due in part to the advantage of a head-start. And already we find economic life developing more rapidly in rival cities than in the older centres. In other words, while once there may have been some excuse for thinking that there might be a national marketing centre, there is none now.

Although it may be true, and I believe it is true, that we should substitute metropolitan economy for national economy as a unit in production, nevertheless it would be a grave error to divorce metropolitan economy as a unit in production from national economy as a unit in administration. Just as the tribal and later the feudal state reflected the village, as the early national state reflected the town, so does the state to-day reflect the metropolis. The village mobilized labor, the town mobilized skill in trade and manufacture, and now the metropolis mobilizes capital and management in support of the state. And the state in its turn reacts on the smaller unit. The tribal and feudal state concerned itself with the business of the village in order to provide justice and protection; the early national state concerned itself with the economic affairs of the town in order to prevent excess of localism and to provide a system of coinage, standard weights and measures, and reforms in trading practices; and the present national state turns to the metropolis not only in order to correct the abuses of its large firms but also to help metropolitan business at home and abroad. And indeed nowhere could this be more clearly illustrated than in America during the last seven years. In short, the relationship between village, town, and metropolitan organization on the one hand and the national organization on the other is close and

reciprocal. For national economy as an organization in production we should substitute metropolitan economy, but there is as yet no substitute for national economy as an administrative organization.

The evidence for metropolitan development, the third topic of this paper, is found in the history of *modern* Europe and America, but the earlier period deserves at least brief consideration. In ancient days there were flourishing towns with a brisk local and extended trade. Most of these, such as Tyre, Sidon, Athens, Corinth, and Delos, had but limited areas near at hand. They were indeed remarkable plants to be growing in such shallow soil. They sent their branches far and wide, but there was no metropolitan subsoil. None of those mentioned had the wide hinterland necessary for metropolitan growth. Nearest to it, came Alexandria with its extended trade by land route to the east and by water east and west, and its hinterland trade up and down the rich Nile valley.

In the Middle Ages Genoa, Florence, and Venice showed metropolitan promise, as did Bruges and Antwerp for a short time. Circumstances largely political prevented these cities from completely developing out of the stage of town economy into that of metropolitan economy.

London is the best illustration, because it developed early and because it has slowly gone through all the phases of metropolitan growth anywhere to be observed. The first of these phases, covering the period from about 1550 to about 1750, was occupied with the general organization of the metropolitan market. Although there had been wholesalers in the medieval town, they traded chiefly in commodities that entered into extended trade and were not normally allowed by the urban magistrates to dominate their own fields. But in the first phase of metropolitan economy wholesalers came to organize not only extended but also local trade, or, as we had better now call it, "hinterland" rather than "local" trade.

Exchanges or bourses, which had been both for retail and wholesale trade in the Middle Ages, became exclusively identified with wholesale trade in the metropolitan stage, though retail shops continued to nestle close to the exchange in spite of the fact that their owners were actually excluded from the "floor". In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief articles traded on the exchange were such commodities as gold, silver, spices, dyes, and other goods which were standardized and could be sold by grade or sample. By the close of the seventeenth century the buying and selling of securities as distinct from commodities attained considerable importance. Speculation in these securities became so noisy in London and stock-

jobbers so bold that a separation had to be made. The old Royal Exchange remained the seat of the wholesale trade in commodities, while the stock-brokers and jobbers departed for the streets and coffee-houses, where they operated until the London Stock Exchange was established in 1773.

The great trading companies, concerned almost wholly with extended trade, were essentially metropolitan enterprises. The stock-owners were found chiefly though by no means exclusively in the metropolis, the directors were there and also their offices and warehouses. Paris was at a great disadvantage in one respect, that, although much of the management might be centred there and although the owners might live there, the actual unloading and storing had to take place almost wholly in ports nearer to the coast than was the metropolis.

Warehousing had been connected with manufacture and commerce in town economy. In the first phase of metropolitan economy there came into existence specialized warehouses and warehousemen who stored for anyone having goods to store. This was, of course, very economical, for available storage space would be more occupied when it could be made to serve all. Merchants and manufacturers henceforth put relatively less capital into storage plants of their own.

With specialized wholesalers and warehousemen, and with trading companies venturing far afield, the metropolis came to contain an unprecedentedly large variety of wares, much beyond the possibilities of a medieval town. They could be economically stored in one metropolitan centre and shipped to the hinterland or to another metropolitan unit when needed. Staples and luxuries, goods from east and west, textiles and hardware, articles of personal adornment and building wares, were all found in the metropolis. The nearest approach to this in the Middle Ages had been the great annual fairs.

The second phase of metropolitan development, in the case of London from about 1750 to about 1830, saw considerable changes in manufacture. Industries such as the manufactures of silk and hosiery, introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, moved out into the hinterland, where rent and food were lower and where there was little or no interference by municipal or guild authorities. Some of the very old industries of the metropolis, such as the manufacture of cutlery, were threatened and finally undermined by new establishments set up in the hinterland, notably in and about Sheffield. Factories using power machinery were started in the hinterland near waterpower, near coal and iron, or in a district with a favorable climate and good shipping facilities. Lancashire and Yorkshire were

the seats of the industrial revolution. London had few large factories. It held its own in the manufacture of luxuries and especially of articles of clothing and adornment, but saw itself by decentralization of industry threatened with the possibility of being reduced to purely commercial functions.

Following hard upon the phase of the industrial revolution came that of the revolution in transportation, which we may place roughly at about the period from 1830 to 1890. Although much earlier than this there had been efforts at highway regeneration, and although the post-office had been established, first for government service and later for public use, in both cases centring in London, although stage-coaches ran from London to all the important towns, and although there had been real improvement in transportation by means of canals and better constructed highways, nevertheless the real beginning of the third phase came with the railroad era. At first built in the north, the railroads really supplemented the trade with the metropolis in so far as they connected inland points with the coast trade centring in London. Soon practically all the important railroad lines focussed on the metropolis. This meant that the hinterland was truly bound to the metropolis by bands of steel, the rails of the new roads.

Contemporaneous with railroad construction came the building up of oversea traffic on a new and regular basis by means of the steamer. What was done for London's hinterland trade by the railroad was done for its extended trade by the steamship. The two, of course, are but parts of the same mechanism. With Sheffield cutlery, Lancashire cottons, and Yorkshire woolens, London could buy American tobacco, Canadian furs, East Indian spices, and China tea.

The fourth and latest phase of metropolitan development sees a remarkable concentration of financial power in the metropolis. To some extent it synchronizes with the other developments, but it comes to a head as the dominant tendency after the revolution in transportation. As far back as the sixteenth century, provincials, especially the nobles, had invested in the joint-stock trading companies of the metropolis. In the seventeenth century the people of the hinterland were depositing their hard cash with the London goldsmiths and private bankers. In the eighteenth century London private banks were establishing branches in the country, and country banks were forming connections with the metropolis. Early in the nineteenth century the Bank of England came to be concerned directly with the hinterland trade when it opened branch banks in the provinces. Following this apace, came the formation of joint-stock banks in the metropolis and elsewhere. In recent years they have consolidated so that there are

only a few large banks left. Generally with their headquarters in London, these great banks have branches widely scattered in England and Wales, and since 1918 in Scotland and Ireland as well. One bank has 1500 and another 1600 such branches. All this means that London manages the banking business of a wide area. Capital is concentrated in it and radiates out from it. The surplus of an agricultural district at one season goes to a manufacturing district where it is sorely needed. At another season the process is reversed. It would seem at first thought as if it were in banking that London is growing functionally, and that in due time, neglecting its warehousing, transportation, and manufacture, it will become distinctively a financial centre. The situation in this case is complicated by the fact that London is not only the economic centre of a vast extended and hinterland trade but the political centre of an empire and as such has a financial rôle to play. A very plausible view of the situation, however, is that this movement of financial concentration may really not continue when other English centres reach the financial stage of their development; that national financial concentration will give way to local concentration in England, just as it has in America, first in the reserve and central reserve cities and now in the Federal Reserve centres. Indeed one of the best sources for studying metropolitan economy is the collection of briefs prepared by numerous cities in the United States, seeking the location of a Federal Reserve bank in their midst. Some of the claims for a bank were based on real metropolitan organization and were accordingly acted upon, while others were disallowed. In the case of the undeveloped South, somewhat arbitrary measures were required, or rather it was necessary to choose towns that showed metropolitan promise instead of achievement. The meaning of this new American banking system is the concentration of banking reserves not simply in New York but in metropolitan cities throughout the United States.

The growth of metropolitan organization has now been sketched in outline. It is not to be implied that all peoples have entered or gone far into the metropolitan stage. Some are still in village economy, some in town economy, and some have just begun to enter metropolitan economy. Although the different phases of growth as here presented hold true for the older metropolitan centres, nevertheless in the newer countries and parts of the world, where the revolution in manufacture and in transportation is inherited rather than experienced, the order of development is somewhat different.

If we wish to visualize metropolitan growth we have only to examine the metropolis itself. The retail section may represent the old

town economy. The wholesale district is the prosaic memorial of the first phase of metropolitan economy. The industrial suburb contains most of what is left of metropolitan manufacture after the period of decentralization. The wharves and the railroad terminals show where extended and hinterland trade meet within the metropolis. And the financial district with its mint, stock exchange, banks, insurance offices, and brokers, constitutes the most sensitive spot in the metropolitan nerve-centre.

Such is the fully developed metropolitan organization. It is not an organization in the sense that it has a constitution, or that there is an agreement whereby transactions are made. It is just a unit of public economy that has grown up gradually to perform cheaply and efficiently the business of managing production. Goods enter the metropolis and leave it. The metropolis performs one set of tasks, the hinterland another. Both are industrial, financial, and commercial, but the metropolis is pre-eminently commercial and financial.

It is a matter of regret that the hinterland can not be adequately dealt with here. It is not an unleavened mass of struggling economic workers, but a set of highly specialized communities producing in close relation to the metropolis. A detailed study of the metropolitan district of the Twin Cities has been made at the University of Minnesota. It shows a hierarchy of towns, some commercial and some industrial, and, of course, a great many small country towns collecting raw material for shipment to the metropolis and receiving for distribution manufactures and other wares from the metropolis.

The growth of metropolitan centres, like the growth of states, has been the occasion of competition and rivalry. At times this rivalry has been between metropolitan centres in different political units. London's rivalry with Amsterdam is a part of history. Her rivalry with Paris on a much smaller scale is generally overclouded by the political struggle between England and France. Often metropolitan rivalry is between centres in the same state. A city ambitious of becoming a metropolis has to struggle against one already established. Manchester-Liverpool is perhaps the only reasonably successful English rival of London, and it has not gone much beyond the third phase of development. Leeds and Glasgow seem to show little more than promise.

Nowhere can metropolitan rivalry be more profitably studied than in America with its vast expanse of territory and its wide areas of free trade. There have been four main lines along which metropolitan cities have developed in competition with one another. Three run east and west and one north and south. The least important up

to date passes through Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. The most important at the present time runs through New York, Cleveland, Chicago, the Twin Cities, and Seattle. The third starts from Philadelphia and Baltimore and passing through Cincinnati extends to St. Louis, whence, joining a line from New Orleans, it goes on through Kansas City to San Francisco. The fourth is the coast line of cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The outstanding illustration of metropolitan rivalry sufficiently old to be well known is to be found in the competition of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for the products of western New York state, especially for the flour of the Genesee Valley. Largely by means of the Erie Canal, New York City won, but, though its victory was marked, it was not complete nor is it to-day, for a struggle still continues. Interesting as are the details of such struggles, the main lines are clear and tolerably well known.

A detailed analysis of the metropolitan organization in America obviously goes beyond the limits of this paper. It may be noted that while some centres show considerable promise, others seem to be declining relatively, notably Baltimore and Cincinnati. Two great agglomerations of population, Pittsburgh and Detroit, each with about a million inhabitants if we include the contiguous urban territory, are not metropolitan at all, but industrial satellites. Each is based largely on a single industry, Pittsburgh on iron and steel and Detroit on the automobile. While Pittsburgh is subordinate to New York and Philadelphia, and more and more to Cleveland, Detroit is subordinate to Chicago, although each has a measure of (temporary) independence due to the unusual extent of the localization of industries in its midst.

Washington is another large city which is not metropolitan in an economic sense, though it has some financial importance due to its being the seat of government. In this same category are several German capitals which are essentially political centres. Indeed Germany as a whole shows the indelible impression of its former political localism. Berlin is the only well-developed German metropolis that has passed through all four phases of growth, though there are, of course, other notable commercial centres of promise and attainment, such as Hamburg, Mannheim, Leipzig, and Düsseldorf. Germany's greatest metropolis would be near the mouth of the Rhine or the Scheldt, if economic considerations alone prevailed. It is not entirely firing a rocket into the air to say that Germany fought the late war partly to obtain a basis for a metropolitan unit in the west.

The significance of metropolitan economy has been in part set

forth above. Its economic bearing is clear. It has other aspects, however, of a far-reaching nature. Our cultural institutions spring from four principal sources, the church, the old town of town economy, the nation or some integral part of it, and the metropolis. The wealth piled up in the great centre is used to found institutions to relieve pain, to discover the secrets of nature, and to instruct in the ways of art and science. The great metropolitan builders like Rockefeller and Morgan are but the best known of many such public benefactors.

In our day, as in the Middle Ages, there is a large group of thinking men who are reacting from the national emphasis that leads to artificial industries and disastrous wars. In the Middle Ages it was the churchmen who were un-national; to-day it is socialists and syndicalists. Both emphasize society organized on a non-national basis. And at the present time also there is a body of liberals who are more than ever convinced that a world organization is better than a national state. Metropolitan economy has some points of contact with both socialism and liberalism. It has been generally held that the state is not simply a political but an economic unit as well; and that it is something more than a national sentiment and an administrative convenience. The theory of metropolitan economy cuts up the state economically and emphasizes intra-metropolitan and inter-metropolitan trade instead of national policies and international commerce. If the state comes to be recognized as something far short of economic unity, and if it ceases to be an administrative convenience, then its foundation is not so strong as we sometimes believe.

When the empire of the Church was a reality, the metropolitan ecclesiastical unit of the archbishopric, generally speaking, was the unit of organization. In the new order of human affairs, about which impractical people now dream, an order in which society and not the state is emphasized, the unit may be economic. If so, it would probably be the metropolitan economic organization. But the establishment and maintenance of such an administrative unit would create difficulties. The boundaries, being "natural" or economic, are shifting from day to day and on the outskirts of the area there is at all times a zone of debatable territory that belongs to two metropolitan organizations, to both London and Manchester-Liverpool, to both Boston and New York, to both Chicago and St. Louis. Everything points to great difficulty not only in reorganizing society but in maintaining the *status quo*. The boundaries of the future would be as unsatisfactory as those of to-day, unless changed so often as to be a nuisance. At the present time a large part of our trouble arises out

of the extension of frontiers. Where to stop is the great difficulty in both political and economic alignment.

Though metropolitan economy may offer no panacea for human troubles, it is nevertheless an economic institution of far-reaching importance. It has not been discovered, or isolated as a phenomenon, partly because of the lack of definiteness and fixity of the unit and partly because of our political obsession. Born at about the same time as our strong modern states, it has quite naturally grown up unnoticed, but it has not been entirely missed, for nearly a century ago Thünen wrote about the central city. A few years back Dr. E. F. Gay of Harvard, emphasizing the marketing of goods in economic history, came to appreciate the function of the large commercial city. Dr. A. P. Usher has made a study of the influence of the metropolitan market on the French grain trade. In another place I have traced the growth of the metropolitan corn market of London, and here add the concept of an "economy", or general organization of economic life, centring in the great commercial city. I have now sketched in a very inadequate way the phases through which metropolitan growth has progressed, indicating some of the consequences of that development.

N. S. B. GRAS.

SLIDELL AND BUCHANAN¹

ONE of the most significant friendships in American history grew out of the official relations between John Slidell, the commissioner to Mexico on the eve of the Mexican War, and James Buchanan, the secretary of state to whom his reports were made. The mission itself was a failure. But the conviction on Slidell's part that he had earned the approval and friendship of Buchanan did much from that time to influence the careers of both. For from the summer of 1846 Slidell seems to have regarded Buchanan as presidential timber, and in advising Buchanan to refuse the ermine of the Supreme Bench, he hints at greater things to come, striking for the first time a note of leadership and guidance, almost of dominance, and constituting himself a political manager for Buchanan. His own less exalted ambition receives a more open statement. "Were I so disposed, I think that I might play the Senator for a few weeks to fill Barrow's vacancy, but the position would be a false one and would not advance my prospects for the only object of my ambition, a seat in that body of a more permanent tenure." The question arises whether to accept a practically certain election to the Lower House or to play for the more alluring but more problematical opening in the Senate. On this point, Buchanan's own advice is solicited.²

Buchanan apparently dwelt on the hostility felt toward Slidell by certain senators. For the latter replied in dismay at the thought of there being several such. Upon reflection, he could think of "that miserable imbecile Henry Johnson" and Thomas Hart Benton as his only imaginable enemies, the latter because of some remarks made at the time when Slidell withdrew his support from Van Buren. He entreated Buchanan to name these enemies,³ and then went on to assure him that neither he nor his friends would feel resentment if the appointment to Mexico should be given to another.

Reminiscent of Mexico, Slidell passed on a choice morsel concerning Calhoun, to the effect that the great Nullifier, who had denounced the Slidell mission when it was first projected as "ill-advised and premature", was himself so eager to undertake the mission that he delegated a friend to make overtures for it to Polk, only to learn that Slidell had been previously appointed.

¹ With one exception the letters upon which this article is based are among the Buchanan Papers in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² New Orleans, Jan. 6, 1847.

³ New Orleans, Jan. 29, 1847.

The letter containing this Calhoun anecdote further expresses a hope that Buchanan himself will hold the next mission to Mexico, mentions General Cass respectfully, and intimates that if Pennsylvania could only be brought to relinquish her tariff heresies, Buchanan would be the logical choice of the party in 1848.⁴

In November, Slidell is even more specific. He declares that Louisiana Democrats favor a Northern man who opposes the Wilmot Proviso, and that "a vast majority of our leading politicians look to you as the man of their choice". If Buchanan is to be available in the fullest sense, however, opposition in Pennsylvania must be overcome, and the friendship of Robert J. Walker must be conciliated, the more so as Walker is by no means friendly to the aspirations of Dallas.⁵

But 1848 was not to realize the hope of either manager or candidate. It was for Slidell a troubled year, as his grip on Louisiana itself seemed to be weakening. He failed by a rather narrow margin of obtaining the coveted seat in the Senate, his refusal to support Taylor being assigned as the cause. He felt, nevertheless, that even at the cost of defeat the effort to avert a Democratic fusion with Whigs was well worth while. He and his friends voted for Soulé, for Slidell was not the man to split his party, whatever might be his eventual attitude toward splitting the Union. But henceforth he was the determined and implacable foe of Soulé for control in Louisiana.

Baltimore was no more encouraging than Baton Rouge, for the Louisiana vote was divided between Buchanan and Cass, and Slidell, though invited to do so, refused to cast the ballot for the state. He sorrowfully wrote Buchanan, "I need not tell you how much I feel this, but must bear it with the best grace I may".⁶

The Buchanan papers contain no further communication from Slidell for over a year, though there seems no reason to suppose that the correspondence lapsed for any such length of time. It reopens with a social rather than political letter from Tarrytown on the Hudson, mentioning that Slidell and his family are guests of the former's brother-in-law, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, previous to their departure for Saratoga, and urging Buchanan to pay a promised visit to New Orleans in the coming winter.⁷

One of the qualities which distinguished Slidell as a shrewd and able politician was his keen perception that under the increasing strain

⁴ New Orleans, Mar. 21, 1847.

⁵ New Orleans, Nov. 13, 1847.

⁶ Baltimore, May 22, 1848.

⁷ Tarrytown, N. Y., June 23, 1849.

between the North and the South that candidate stood the best chance of victory who, beyond making it plain that he was "safe", least committed himself on debatable subjects. For that reason Slidell's attempt to dissuade Buchanan from all thought of the governorship in Pennsylvania deserves quotation at length. It is a searching criticism of American politics at the period, and a revelation of the clear mind of the writer.

I think there are many reasons why for the present you should not voluntarily place yourself in a position where you will be called upon to express your opinions on the subject of slavery in the territories. They are sufficiently well known in the South to make your name acceptable there, and if you abstain from any active participation in the question now, the Free Soilers, who, I am sorry to see, comprise the immense majority of the non-slaveholding states, will when the matter is disposed of entertain no hostility towards anyone, who has not come immediately into conflict with them in the final struggle. You see I have not lost my hopes of yet seeing you in the White House. There is not a man of our party whose chances are as good as yours and I cannot believe that the Whig party will hold together after the first session of Congress.⁸

Slidell's attitude toward Calhoun has already been indicated. Toward Clay, Whig though he was, he felt a kindlier sentiment, and in August, 1849, he confided to Buchanan that, popular impressions to the contrary notwithstanding, Clay no longer held any presidential aspirations, but that if opportunity arose he would come out against Taylor, whom he unquestionably had in mind in his "constantly speaking of the incompatibility of statesmanship and soldiership".⁹ In Slidell's opinion, the day of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun was nearing its end. The future belonged not with the "Elder Statesmen" but with rising stars who could see the manifest destiny of slavery and the necessity of its fulfilment. Thus, almost three years before such a prediction could be put to the test, Slidell informs Buchanan that "The next democratic candidate cannot be Cass neither can he be a free soiler. I do not find with either section any objection to you and I now consider it as certain as any event can be that you are to be our standard bearer."¹⁰ The opportunity to promote the interests of Buchanan is welcomed by Slidell as a selfish gain for himself. By so doing, he may be able to slough off an apathy felt for two years past, and through the excitements of the contest return to "a tone of mind which I thought I had lost forever".¹¹

To elect Buchanan would mean to render doubly certain the attain-

⁸ Saratoga Springs, July 25, 1849.

⁹ Saratoga Springs, Aug. 11, 1849.

¹⁰ New York, Oct. 14, 1849.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

ment of Cuba. Late in 1849, Slidell accordingly visited the island in order to gain impressions at first hand. To this he made at the time, however, only a passing allusion, the immediate occasion of a letter being Buchanan's forthcoming visit to New Orleans. And with the most cautious forethought, he raises the question whether Buchanan will desire a public reception: "you must decide how far it will be advisable to accept or decline any public invitations which might perhaps render it embarrassing to avoid touching upon slave[ry]." ¹²

The slavery question was pushing on to its temporary solution in the Compromise of 1850. In view of his present influence in Louisiana and growing weight in national affairs, the attitude of Slidell toward the crisis has a distinct importance. In February, 1850, he informs Buchanan that when they meet he will have much to say on the subject of Cuba. For the present, however, and "until the present excitement respecting slavery shall have subsided"—he has no hope that it will ever be entirely abated—Cuba had better remain in the background. He then turns to a denunciation of third parties and their dupes, Taylor Democrats in particular, and, while hoping to reclaim the misguided followers, contends that their leaders should be inexorably read out of the party. "They will be much more harmless acting openly with our adversaries than in pretended affiliation with the democracy." ¹³ He requests of Buchanan information as to political currents at Washington, and declares his own hostility to a Southern convention. An attack on slavery in the District of Columbia would warrant a firm stand, but:

I have not considered the passage of the Wilmot Proviso as sufficient provocation for the extreme and disastrous remedy of separation and it has never been my habit to make declarations which I have not fully intended to carry out to the letter. Pray let me have your advice on the subject. Perhaps the time has already arrived when it becomes necessary for Southern men to pass the true line of resistance to secure themselves from further aggression. ¹⁴

In the afterlight of history, an inquiry from Slidell to Buchanan as to the timeliness of secession in 1850 has a peculiar interest. Buchanan apparently confirmed Slidell's own views that the *ultima ratio* was uncalled for, and the death of Taylor further encouraged Slidell to hope that "the chances of the settlement of our sectional differences will be improved by Filmore's accession". ¹⁵ Accordingly in the autumn Slidell continued his labors in Buchanan's behalf.

¹² Havana, Dec. 7, 1849.

¹³ New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1850.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Saratoga Springs, July 13, 1850.

After visiting Buchanan at Lancaster, Slidell urges him to spend some time in New York, where he is frequently mentioned as a more available candidate than General Cass.¹⁶ He emphasizes the importance of establishing a New York paper pledged to the Buchanan candidacy, for "taking it for granted that you are sure of Pennsylvania, with New York every thing is safe" — this notwithstanding the party dissension in Louisiana created by Mr. Soulé and likely to drive that state into the hands of the Whigs.¹⁷

With 1851, the national campaign was assuming more definite outlines, and Slidell adopted a distinctly managerial tone. He assures Buchanan of almost unanimous support from the South, but emphasizes the New York vote as pivotal. He entreats him to overcome the "dread of locomotion" and visit Saratoga, the rendezvous of politicians. An understanding with Marcy is of prime importance. The electoral vote of New York will probably go to the Whigs, but they must be kept so busy at home that their power for mischief elsewhere will be shorn. Louisiana is now safe; so, too, the rest of the Southwest. "You are the only man who can unite the conflicting divisions of the Southern democracy. The Whigs will, I think, carry the State elections this year, but we will be all right in November '52." The communication closes with a renewed entreaty to Buchanan to be up and stirring. With a guile not easy to resist, he reminds Buchanan that "Some men under similar circumstances would do better to remain at home, but you (you will not suspect *me* of flattering) can only gain by being seen and known".¹⁸

Illness in his family almost prevented Slidell's trip North in the summer of 1851, but he did come to Saratoga, and from there outlined the state of politics as he estimated it. New York, he felt, would cast a Whig ballot, "but thank God we can do without it".¹⁹ Marcy could be counted as a friend, though the precise extent of assistance to be expected from him might be subject to doubt. Robert J. Walker professed the friendliest sentiments, "and yet in spite of myself and with a feeling that I am doing him injustice, I cannot divest myself of a certain degree of distrust". Walker's help is really as important as Marcy's, and Slidell strongly recommends that Buchanan exchange views with him. "I consider his advocacy of your nomination all important." Buchanan, it seems, had felt that any attempt by himself as an outsider to influence New York politics

¹⁶ New York, Oct. 9, 1850.

¹⁷ New Orleans, Dec. 16, 1850.

¹⁸ New Orleans, May 9, 1851.

¹⁹ Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1851.

might do more harm than good. To Slidell, however, this hands-off policy seemed just about to have outlived its usefulness. New York being the keystone of the situation, he almost wishes himself once more a New Yorker, not that he is so vain as to think his influence so far-reaching, "but as things are and possibly will be for several months, a strong will with some tact and discretion could effect a great deal". In this wholly justified and even modest statement, Slidell has left us one of the few self-estimates which we have. His was, indeed, a strong will. And if the clearness of his vision and the definiteness of his aims and goals create the impression of a personality controlled more by head than by heart, it can not be denied that he possessed both tact and discretion.²⁰

The project of establishing a Buchanan newspaper in New York took shape more definitely on Slidell's arrival in the city. He inquires if Buchanan will approve General Cushing as editor, admits that his integrity is dubious, but asserts that his talents are beyond dispute and that self-interest will hold him in line. As to financing the paper, Slidell's nephew, August Belmont, is warmly interested, and "he has already received assurances from a number of the wealthiest merchants of coöperation".²¹ Thus "international bankers" and the money power were early espousing the candidacy of the conservative Buchanan. But Slidell draws a sharp distinction between the wealth which he is able to control, and the predatory wealth enlisted in the Douglas interest. "It is confined to one clique not very numerous, but active and unscrupulous, the Ocean mail contractors", at whose head stood the sinister figure of George Law.²²

Slidell concluded this summary of the situation in New York by hoping that Buchanan had on no account failed to write to Marcy.²³ Buchanan for once did arouse himself to the "dreaded locomotion" and interviewed Marcy in person. Slidell, who had meanwhile returned to New Orleans, first learned of this through the newspapers, and wrote Buchanan in some alarm at his failure to learn the details of the interview from their friend Belmont. It was greatly to be feared that Marcy might decide to enter the race himself. As for Louisiana, the Whigs, as anticipated, were in control of the legislature, but all would be well when it came to the choosing of delegates for the Baltimore Convention.²⁴

²⁰ Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1851.

²¹ New York, Sept. 29, 1851.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ New Orleans, Nov. 17, 1851.

But the highwater mark of hope for the 1852 nomination had been already reached. New York was pivotal and New York depended upon Marcy. Marcy, it seemed more and more clear, would be his own candidate, and Slidell indulged in one of the few complaints he ever addressed to Buchanan:

I fear that the favorable moment for action in New York has been irretrievably lost. Marcy was in such a mood last summer that if you had met you would in all probability have secured his active co-operation. He *may* yet have it in his power by a strong effort to turn the scale in your favor. But the chances are that he will not be convinced of the impossibility of his own nomination until too late. If you have, however, a strong willed and unanimous delegation from Pennsylvania, you can do without New York.²⁵

Among the rivals for the honors, Slidell made much the same distinction between Cass and Douglas that Sumner later drew between them.²⁶ He found an unexpected strength lined up for Cass, and drawn from "sound, reliable men who have only at heart the triumph of their principles", whereas the advocates of Douglas were for the most part "trading politicians and adventurers, with a very slight sprinkling of well meaning men who think it for the interest of the party to cast off old leaders and select a chief from the young democracy". To Slidell it was no recommendation for Douglas that Soulé should have enlisted under his banner.²⁷ The purchase by Douglas partizans of the New Orleans *Delta* and four country papers in Louisiana alone indicated to Slidell a strong campaign chest in the North. "If such men as have originated the Douglas movement could succeed in imposing him upon us as the nominee of the great democratic party, I should despair of the republic and although I shall be *cautious* in expressing such an opinion, no consideration could induce me to support him." Toward Cass, on the contrary, in spite of serious doubts whether he could be elected, Slidell would extend an "honest support". He would do as much for Butler, Marcy, or others, "but I still entertain the hope, which indeed all my letters from Washington warrant, that you will obtain the nomination, when I can go into the camp *con amore*". In Virginia, Douglas seemed to be the only serious competitor; and in Georgia, by Cobb's account, Buchanan was the strongest candidate, though Cobb's own good-will was subject to doubt.²⁸

The next mention of Douglas is more friendly, because of a grow-

²⁵ New Orleans, Dec. 27, 1851.

²⁶ A. C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, pp. 319-320.

²⁷ New Orleans, Feb. 26, 1852.

²⁸ New Orleans, Mar. 19, 1852.

ing conviction on Slidell's part that his following in Louisiana was less menacing than had been at first supposed, the Douglas men preferring Buchanan to Cass, and being likely after the first ballot to vote accordingly unless overruled by Douglas himself. Meanwhile Buchanan occupied a similar position with the followers of Cass, who were grateful for his moral support against Douglas. But predictions were idle until it should be known who were to be the delegates at Baltimore. If Buchanan approved, Slidell would himself go to Baltimore, as Belmont wished it decidedly, and he really might be able to bring some final pressure on the wavering Marcy.²⁹

He reminds Buchanan that the Whigs are attacking his slavery record by accusing him of opposing, previous to the Compromise of 1820, the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Slidell considers this a venial sin, even if committed, and one long since atoned for by Buchanan's priority over all other Northern men, Democrats or Whigs, in the defense of Southern rights. But he is under an impression that somewhere he has seen the Missouri story denied, and if the facts warrant it, he thinks it would be advisable for Buchanan to refute it officially. He repeats his alarm for Louisiana if Fillmore should be the Whig nominee.³⁰

A month later and the high hopes built on years of planning were dashed. Their obituary may be quoted in full, for the intimate picture it gives of the aims, motives, and scruples of Slidell as a politician.³¹

NEW ORLEANS, 23 June, 1852.

My dear Mr. Buchanan,

I will not attempt to express to you all the annoyances and mortification I have felt at your not having obtained the nomination at Baltimore. It is the only political question in which for several years I have felt any warm interest. My faith in our political principles has never for a moment been shaken, but various reasons had combined to make any active interposition in party struggles irksome and distasteful to me. I believe that had it not been for the hope that I might in some feeble degree contribute to your nomination my retirement from the political arena would have been permanent and complete. I should have confined myself to depositing an unmixed democratic vote at every important election. If Cass had been nominated he could have had my vote and pecuniary contribution, with little anxiety and still less hope for his success. As to Douglas, Houston, Lane, or any man of that stamp, as I should have considered success with such men as more disastrous to the permanent interests of the party than their defeat, I should not have voted at all. At one time, I could have cordially supported Marcy, as my second choice,

²⁹ New Orleans, Apr. 15, 1852.

³⁰ New Orleans, May 22, 1852.

³¹ New Orleans, June 23, 1852.

but his weakness in yielding to the spurious and artificial excitement gotten up in favor of Kossuth and intervention shook my faith entirely in his judgement, but his political integrity and the course of his friends at Baltimore, who by well timed interposition could have secured your nomination, has entirely changed my feelings towards him. As it is, I am as well satisfied with the choice of the convention as I could possibly be with any result short of your nomination and I shall heartily support Pierce and King without feeling any particular enthusiasm. I shall do everything in my power to aid in carrying the vote of Louisiana which I think we have more than equal chance of doing. With Fillmore opposed to us, I should have hoped for success, without counting on it very confidently.

Mrs. Slidell has written you a note which I enclose. I trust that we shall meet at Saratoga or some where this summer. We leave here for New York by the river about 3 or 4 July. Our journey will probably not be longer than 10 days. Pray let us hear from you care of Belmont, who, I believe, is almost as much annoyed at your defeat as any of us.

Believe me ever faithfully and respy

Your friend etc.

JOHN SLIDELL.

Honl. James Buchanan,
Wheatland.

Events were to demonstrate that the optimistic calculations thus temporarily set back were based on a sound analysis of political trends, and with an energy no whit abated, Slidell laid his plans for the next convention and the next election. His correspondence for the next year or two reveals the same keen and incisive estimate of men and events, and as the Cincinnati Convention drew near, it becomes a definite source for the history of the times.

The summer following his disappointment at Baltimore, Slidell spent at Saratoga, carefully avoiding Newport with its temperance legislation because of his "horror of despotism in every shape" and reluctance, in spite of his belief that the law was a dead letter, to place himself "within the jurisdiction of a state where so tyrannical a system exists".³² Contact with Northern politics confirmed his impression that the Whig party was moribund. "It may be galvanised for the moment into a show of activity, but after a few short convulsive struggles it will be definitely numbered among the things that were." But with a blindness to the implications of his own prophecy, rare in this astute observer, he declares that "It will of course be revived under some other organization and probably with a new name, when we shall I hope slough off some of our own rottenness to be absorbed by the force of natural affinities into the Seward and Hale faction".³³

³² Saratoga Springs, July 28, 1852.

³³ New York, Sept. 15, 1852.

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While in New York, Slidell learned that many Democrats, including General Cass, considered him as strong timber for Pierce's cabinet. He expressed as much surprise as pleasure at this, and attributed it to anxiety "to prevent the secessionists with Soulé at their head from acquiring supremacy", and to a conviction that Slidell was the most available Union man in the states south of Virginia.³⁴

If this Cabinet appointment did awaken any hopes and subsequent disappointments, these were nothing to the surprise which Slidell felt at Pierce's failure to offer the State Department to Buchanan. While the Cabinet decisions were pending, Buchanan apparently suggested the advisability of Slidell's going to Washington. To this he demurred, on the ground that a Cabinet post, now very unlikely to be offered, would be undesirable if it meant close social and political relations with such men as Hunter and Nicholson, who, it was understood, would be members, and on whom Slidell placed a very low estimate. "If the rest of the cabinet be proportionately weak, I should have little hope of its duration or of its being long enabled to command majorities in Congress." Under such circumstances, a foreign mission would be more desirable than a Cabinet appointment. But if men like Buchanan were being ignored in the framing of the new government, there was scant likelihood that those in control of events would view Slidell's pretensions with favor. On the whole, Slidell's chief causes for satisfaction lay close at home, where his wing of the Democracy was strongly in the ascendant over Soulé.³⁵

Discussion of Cabinet possibilities continued until the results were finally known. But by January 21, 1853, Slidell had pretty well made up his mind not to accept what would probably not be offered, on the basis that "If the Department of State is to be offered to and refused by men of Mr. Hunter's calibre and questionable political orthodoxy, I do not feel very ambitious for a post in the cabinet";³⁶ and in February he professed the utmost chagrin that Buchanan should have exposed himself to discourtesy and rebuff on his behalf. "But I look upon this incident in a still more serious light. It is to my mind a very pregnant indication that sudden and unexpected elevation to so dizzy a height has had its usual bewildering effect."³⁷

It was in truth no more than natural that Pierce should hold at arm's length his most formidable rival and that rival's lieutenant, but to ignore them entirely was not feasible, and even as Buchanan was

³⁴ New York, Sept. 27, 1852.

³⁵ New Orleans, Dec. 31, 1852.

³⁶ New Orleans, Jan. 21, 1853.

³⁷ New Orleans, Feb. 13, 1853.

eventually offered the mission to the Court of St. James, so Slidell was nominated for that to Central America, a compliment which he professed to appreciate, but which he did not accept, preferring an economic mission to London for the sale of railroad bonds to a diplomatic mission in Central America.³⁸ On the eve of sailing, Slidell drafted a short letter to Buchanan which reveals a rather curious insensibility to the proper relations between public and private business. Buchanan could not be in London at the same time with Slidell, who laments: "I had anticipated great satisfaction from meeting you in London not altogether unmixed with a selfish feeling that your presence might aid Mr. Robb and me in conducting our negotiation for the sale of Rail Road bonds."³⁹

A hard-won victory over Soulé assured the realization of the aim long ago announced by Slidell as his goal, and when he returned from Europe, it was to take the coveted place in the United States Senate. No better vantage-point could have been selected for securing information, and Slidell's letters from this time gain in interest from the authority with which they were penned.

The happiness felt by Slidell at this fruition of his hopes found expression in a number of witticisms, rare for him, at Buchanan's adventures in going to Buckingham Palace in the costume of a plain American citizen. Secretary Marcy's attempt to advertise American simplicity complicated the situation of American diplomatic agents. Slidell took the occasion to congratulate Buchanan on his single blessedness.

To what unheard of contumelies and injuries might you not have been exposed had the additional responsibility of Mrs. Buchanan's costume been thrown upon you, and then although we Louisianians may fight strangers with impunity what would have become of you from the Quaker State if you had attempted to avenge in the blood of the critic any commentary upon the taste in dress of your better half.⁴⁰

Turning to more serious aspects of the political scene, Slidell finds much dissatisfaction at the course pursued by the Administration toward the rival factions, Hunkers and Barnburners, in New York. An intervention regrettable under any circumstances was particularly inept when directed on behalf of the wrong side, and betrayed a gross ignorance of the state of public opinion. More serious even than this was Pierce's failure to win dignity and strength for his administration through the selection of a strong cabinet. "This

³⁸ New Orleans, Mar. 30 and May 27, 1853.

³⁹ New York, June 28, 1853.

⁴⁰ Washington, Jan. 14, 1854.

is a much more important element of success than is generally supposed and Pierce will yet in all probability feel the want of it." In fact, lacking the personal support of the leaders of his party, Pierce could count upon merely a formal allegiance to a titular head, for "there is probably not a member of the Senate, who does not consider his own individual opinion in every other respect entitled to quite as much consideration as that of the President. In other words he is the 'de jure' not the 'de facto' head of the party". On top of it all, Pierce is a weak man ruled by two members of his Cabinet, or rather one, now, for Slidell thinks that Jefferson Davis has fallen into some disfavor because of his announced desire to abandon the President and return to the Senate. With such a heavy burden on his part, Slidell begs in return that Buchanan will inform him how the diplomatic corps at London regards Soulé and his duels.⁴¹

In view of the political intimacy which this correspondence reveals, it would be surprising if Slidell had taken no part in the movement leading to the Ostend Manifesto. His interest in Cuba has already been noted, and soon after Buchanan entered upon his duties at London the Cuban situation entered upon a phase peculiarly alarming to Southerners and annexationists. Slidell, with many others, was convinced that Great Britain and France were in a plot to "Africanize" Cuba, even converting it into a black republic rather than see it fall into American hands; this, of course, presupposing Spain's own inability to retain possession. He suggests that Belmont, then minister at the Hague, through his powerful connections at Madrid, might be in a position to secure for Buchanan authentic information as to the existence and nature of these engagements; and when he hints that the \$15,000,000 designed for Santa Anna in Mexico may be required "in expenditures of more urgent necessity", he has in mind possible contingencies in Cuba.⁴²

Before writing again, Slidell delivered one of his few formal addresses in the Senate, taking as his text the necessity of action respecting Cuba. In transmitting to Buchanan a corrected copy of his speech, he asks, subject to "all proper reservations", for additional information on the subject, as well as for a more precise statement of what Buchanan meant in his Elgin dinner speech by saying that "if we were engaged in war we should abstain from commissioning private armed vessels unless national vessels of the enemy were inhibited from capturing our merchant vessels".⁴³

⁴¹ Washington, Jan. 14, 1854.

⁴² Washington, Mar. 25, 1854.

⁴³ Washington, May 4, 1854.

So long as Cuba remained the focus of diplomatic interest, Slidell kept in close touch with the State Department, urging upon Marcy the need of frequent reports from and to the ministers at London and Paris. When Marcy admitted the wisdom of such a course, Slidell remarked that this change of policy might be due to the secretary's own reflections, or again that it might have been suggested by the President, "on whom I have more than once urged the absolute necessity of bringing your [Buchanan's] influence and that of Mason and Belmont to bear upon our negotiations at Madrid. Things may yet take such a turn as to render the Russian legation at Madrid a very useful auxiliary".⁴⁴

Eager as Slidell was to advance the cause, he felt no inclination to be a catspaw for the Pierce administration. He participated with Mason, Douglas, Davis, and two others in a White House conference held early in June at which he urged upon Pierce a message to Congress so worded "as to satisfy our people in New Orleans that he was prepared to pursue an energetic policy and thus induce them to abstain from any hostile expedition". When Pierce attempted to evade personal responsibility for such a course by suggesting that Slidell himself telegraph the district attorney at New Orleans that "immediate and decisive measures would be taken in relation to Cuba", he peremptorily refused, on the very proper ground that such a notice must be on all accounts an official act of the State Department. Marcy was accordingly instructed. But a recess afforded excuse for delay, and Slidell was increasingly convinced that the President would never take the promised action, the more so as his habitual vacillation was a subject of general comment in both houses of Congress.⁴⁵

However shifting or shifty the administration, Slidell was not the man to cease pressing a point so near to his heart. A passage in his next letter to Buchanan strongly suggests that he was a moving force behind the Manifesto. "The idea now is to have you, Soulé, and Mason to meet for the purpose of consultation. I have suggested that on account of the Rothschild influence at Madrid and Paris it would be well that Belmont be brought either personally or by correspondence into your counsels." Such activity on the part of a senator who was scarcely of the President's immediate household of faith may well have seemed officious, and relations between Slidell and Marcy became somewhat tense.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Washington, June 17, 1854.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Aug. 6, 1854.

Familiarity with the Pierce administration bred no respect in the mind of Slidell. He unburdened himself to Buchanan in numerous complaints at the government's failure to command the respect of its own partizans. For the failure of negotiations for Cuba and the futility of the Ostend Manifesto, he blamed neither Spain nor Buchanan but Pierce. He asks for "such details about your conference with Mason and Soulé as you may choose to communicate confidentially, although I have not now the least hope of acquiring Cuba under this administration".⁴⁷ This being the case, all that remained was to plan so carefully for the next administration that the Baltimore disappointment should not be repeated. He warned Buchanan, who had grown weary of his mission, not to resign prematurely and by a return to America surrender the advantage of silence on critical issues. "The political atmosphere is malarious (if there be no such word there should be) and those who are not compelled to inhale it had better keep away."⁴⁸ Credit is due to the sagacity which could thus condense all the essentials for success.

Meanwhile Slidell looked to his own fences, returning to the Senate with little difficulty,⁴⁹ where he remained loyal to Buchanan,⁵⁰ to whom he directed in June, 1855, a most entertaining survey of events. To begin with, he was "for the present at least and possibly forever" at outs with Pierce and Marcy. Pierce would probably be quite willing to accept Buchanan's resignation; Marcy might like the post; but to take it would seem like retiring under fire. Soulé, back from a ridiculous failure in Spain, was out for Marcy's scalp, and the secretary must stand his ground. Rumor had it that Soulé meant to challenge Marcy. "Will not this be a capital farce? I look forward to the denouement as a rich treat." Marcy was probably leading him on and at the proper moment would pounce on him "à la Scott", for, given time and preparation, Marcy with pen in hand was a dangerous customer. Slidell has not time to explain in detail his own break with Pierce, but in substance it was due to "repeated violations of his word which can only be explained by the most reckless indifference to truth or deliberate treachery".⁵¹

In the more general field of politics, Slidell thought it surprising that the people at Newport, where he was sojourning, felt far more interest in Sebastopol and the Crimea than in Kansas and Know-nothingism. But in so far as the parties were lining up for the con-

⁴⁷ New York, Oct. 18, 1854.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Washington, Mar. 5, 1855.

⁵⁰ New Orleans, Apr. 3, 1855, quoted in Moore's *Works of Buchanan*, IX. 332.

⁵¹ Washington, June 17, 1855.

test, the Democracy could count on the more intelligent and wealthy Whigs, whom disgust at "the results of their truckling to negrophilism and the other cant of the day" was driving into "the true conservative party of the country". Even so, it may be too late to remedy the situation, and Slidell, intent upon nominating his friend to the presidency of a united country, already sounds the note of dissolution. Almost the key-note of Buchanan's term of office is Slidell's prophetic declaration that "trustful as I have hitherto been of the perpetuity of the Union I begin to look forward to a dissolution as a not very remote possibility. The question will be solved one way or the other during the next Presidential term. How different would have been our position had you received the nomination at Baltimore!"⁵²

A Democratic triumph in Pennsylvania with "every issue fairly met and the glove thrown down to all the isms combined" served notice that victory would be certain in 1856.⁵³ And Buchanan might rest assured that absence was not injuring his cause. "The old adage that 'les absents ont toujours tort' will not be verified in your case. The *people* are taking care of you and the almost universal admission by *politicians* here from every part of the country that you are the only man for the crisis, is an unmistakeable indication of the force and depth of the popular current." The time was come, however, when Buchanan must express his obedience to the will of the sovereign people. Too rigid insistence that he was not a candidate would work to his detriment; he had better convey his willingness to accept by a letter "to some *discreet* friend or friends". As for Slidell himself, nothing was to be gained by a reconciliation with Pierce. He was in good company as it was, "for the feeling of contempt for Pierce in the Senate is general. Indeed, with the exception *perhaps* of General Dodge, not a man there is in favor of his renomination". Pierce's own expectation of a second term was, therefore, utterly absurd. "But I am writing treason and my letter is to go through the State Department. I must not further expose my head."⁵⁴

Buchanan wrote the desired letter, and with 1856 the pre-convention campaign was under way. The support of General Cass, announced in February, was particularly welcome. Slidell attributed it in part to Cass's antipathy toward Douglas, who was believed to be an intending candidate, and whose competition would be more formidable than that of Pierce.⁵⁵ Douglas, however, might himself

⁵² Newport, R. I., Sept. 2, 1855.

⁵³ Washington, Oct. 11, 1855.

⁵⁴ Washington, Dec. 9, 1855.

⁵⁵ Washington, Feb. 7, 1856.

come into the Buchanan camp. Even without Douglas, the Northwest, save Illinois, was safe. And on closer examination, Douglas himself was seen to possess some virtues. "I thought at first", wrote Slidell, "that he would give us a great deal of trouble. But his tone is now entirely changed and with his present feeling I would prefer that he should not formally retire." The real enemy was Pierce. Slidell would watch his every move. But Buchanan need not fear. His ground was impregnable. It might be debatable at this time whether Buchanan should return. Firm friends held different views regarding this. But Slidell would still counsel absence.⁵⁶

In May, Slidell thought it advisable that Buchanan, who had meanwhile returned to America, and was at his estate of Wheatland, should take a positive stand on the Kansas-Nebraska question. "This you can do in perfect harmony with your whole record. I believe that it will reconcile Douglas and if it do not it will at least spike his guns." It would be opportune, also, if Buchanan should seize upon the forthcoming visit of the Pennsylvania state delegation announcing his nomination at Harrisburg, to deny categorically the possibility of his ever accepting a second term in the presidency; it would appear much better in that form than by letter to individuals.⁵⁷ Both of these points Slidell deemed sufficiently important to emphasize soon afterward in a second letter to the rather slow-moving Buchanan. Particularly must he indicate the vote he would have cast on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had he been in Congress at the time.⁵⁸

A rumor that Douglas and Hunter were combining to support Pierce determined Slidell to go at once to Cincinnati to marshal his forces in person.⁵⁹ Douglas was definitely won over at the price of naming John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as the vice-presidential candidate, to whom Slidell himself wrote, "I was induced to urge your nomination on the Louisiana delegation by the earnest appeal of Richardson of Illinois [a Douglas leader] whose bearing and conduct during the convention had been most manly and straightforward. I considered your selection for the Vice Presidency as a graceful and merited compliment to the friends of Douglas."⁶⁰

Success had finally crowned the efforts of Slidell, marking, indeed, the apex of his career. Too often, as in Mexico and France, his great abilities were pitted against hopeless odds. Here in a fair field

⁵⁶ Washington, Mar. 11, 1856.

⁵⁷ Washington, May, 1856.

⁵⁸ Washington, May 24, 1856.

⁵⁹ Washington, May 26, 1856.

⁶⁰ From a letter kindly called to my attention by Mr. Roy F. Nichols of Columbia University.

they attained a most difficult objective, pursued for the past eight years with intelligence and faith.

In communicating the result to Buchanan, Slidell pointed out that the first opportunity should be utilized to pay a deserved compliment to the Old Line Whigs, many of whom, as Slidell had foreseen, were coming into the Democratic fold.⁶¹

In furthering Buchanan's prospects, Slidell left little to the chance that Buchanan himself might think of the right thing to say and do. He reminds him to thank Pierce for his endorsement. He warns him that Pierce, who at heart desires his defeat, can accomplish this only by prolonging the troubles in Kansas. He recites the sinister plan of Davis to withdraw United States troops, leaving the territory to anarchy, and concludes that if Pierce accepts this advice it will be necessary to denounce him, even at the cost of some Southern votes, for the sake of holding the North in line. If the worst comes to the worst, he hopes that Douglas can be persuaded to take the initiative in such a move. Meanwhile, has Buchanan remembered to write to Cass and Douglas? Cass has gone to Pierce to remonstrate against the proposed removal of troops. Douglas has refrained from doing so on the ground of a breach with the President, with whom he had no influence.⁶²

A few days later, Slidell is warning Buchanan to keep close watch of the Lancaster papers, any indiscretion on the part of whose editors would be attributed to him. Already Phelps of Missouri is complaining of one such editorial, very friendly to Benton. And Benton, Slidell reminds the candidate, has not the confidence of any of Buchanan's friends. For himself, he says, "I confess that I have strong prejudices against Benton which may bias my judgment and I hope but do not expect that my apprehensions of his treachery may not be realised". Another uncertain quantity is Soulé. Nothing will be gained by his support, yet his open hostility should not be courted.⁶³

Ranging the entire political horizon, Slidell could not ignore the German element in the Northwest, and he counselled Buchanan to conciliate their spokesman, Grund.⁶⁴ A far greater force than Grund, however, is Robert J. Walker, and despite a natural predilection for Buchanan, he too must be won over. For Walker is governed by his antagonisms rather than by his friendships. "Walker is ardently your friend, but he is more ardently the enemy of Benton." That

⁶¹ Washington, June 14, 1856.

⁶² Washington, June 17, 1856.

⁶³ Washington, July 4, 1856.

⁶⁴ Washington, July 17, 1856.

unlucky article in the *Lancaster Intelligencer* favoring Benton had cost Buchanan the establishment by Walker, whose resources for such a venture were more than ample, of a newspaper in New York devoted to the Buchanan interest. But even now it may not be too late. He will soon be in New York. "Now pray write him at once and invite him to visit Wheatland and when he shall have talked with you an hour everything will be right. He is proud and sensitive and should be conciliated." Slidell himself is taking care of Grund, whose objections are to Buchanan's friends, not to the candidate himself. He is gifted and a power among the Germans. But the real issue is Walker. On no account must Buchanan fail to write him.⁶⁵

Two days later, Grund is Slidell's chief theme. Buchanan has only to give the word and he will enter the lists with enthusiasm as a correspondent for the *Philadelphia Ledger* and other papers. In reaching such a decision, Buchanan must remember that the matter is near to the hearts of both Senators Bright and Douglas.⁶⁶

In the midsummer of 1856, Slidell was far from well, but his reports lose nothing in vigor from their writer's infirmities. Kentucky will be the cynosure of the doubtful states to the south. Maryland is already safe, Cass and Toombs never having seen greater enthusiasm than at Frederick. Congress will soon adjourn. The Black Republicans will not dare to defeat the appropriation bills. "If they do, the Senate will not yield an inch. For myself I should not regret to see them taking that course. We should have a foretaste of the consequences of disunion. I believe that it would produce a general panic and bankruptcy in the Northern States. We at the South have so little for the money expended among us that we should comparatively suffer but little embarrassment."⁶⁷ But even Black Republicans are evidently forgotten when "Everything looks bright and even the croakers are silent".⁶⁸

At the end of September, with the national election but a few weeks away, Slidell emphasizes the importance of carrying the state election in Pennsylvania for its sentimental effect elsewhere. "In this view we have said that every dollar contributed for Pennsylvania would economise ten in New York." He encloses a letter from Stuart of Michigan putting the case with even less reserve. "In my opinion it [Pennsylvania] is the great battle of the campaign. And if any amount of labor and money will secure it, they should be ex-

⁶⁵ Washington, July 18, 1856.

⁶⁶ Washington, July 20, 1856.

⁶⁷ Senate Chamber, Aug. 9, 1856.

⁶⁸ Washington, Aug. 12, 1856.

pended.”⁶⁹ On Pennsylvania hung the decision of Kentucky and Tennessee, whereas success in Pennsylvania would insure large majorities in the fifteen Southern states and in all the doubtful free states. With so much at stake, Slidell was none too sure of Pennsylvania prospects; “for the first time since your nomination, I have felt alarmed”.⁷⁰

This was on the fourth of October. By the seventeenth he had seen the shadows flee away. With Pennsylvania and Indiana secure, “The Union is now safe, but we must endeavor to make your majority overwhelming”. To that end, everything possible must be done to heal the party dissensions in New York. Slidell will go there in person. Has Buchanan any instructions?⁷¹ Once arrived, he found that prospects exceeded anticipations. In only one congressional district was friction still serious, and with the tide so favorable, victory was beyond doubt, “but I shall be only half satisfied if your triumph be not overwhelming”. In a postscript, courteously, as an afterthought, is the added cheer that “The financial question has been attended to”.⁷² It only remains to congratulate the victor, and this Slidell does in a note both of encouragement and of warning.

You are not to lie in a bed of roses for the next four years, but I feel the most entire confidence that you will be able to build up and consolidate a sound homogeneous national democracy that can defy the attacks of fanatics north and south. I have almost as little sympathy with the Rhett school of politicians as with the Know Nothing ruffians of Baltimore and New Orleans.⁷³

Success in the campaign raised new problems, upon which Slidell expressed decided opinions. In foreign relations, he opposed “any extension to the novel and false principle introduced into our foreign policy by the Clayton and Bulwer treaty and I could only be induced with extreme reluctance to give my vote for its ratification by the desire to relieve your administration from embarrassment”.⁷⁴ In domestic concerns, he asserted that any rumors to the effect that he was busying himself as to Cabinet appointments were utterly without foundation.⁷⁵ But he entreated Buchanan to come to Washington no later than early February. “You will of course be immensely an-

⁶⁹ Stuart to Slidell, Kalamazoo, Sept. 18, 1856, forwarded in Slidell to Buchanan, New York, Sept. 29, 1856.

⁷⁰ Slidell to Buchanan, Oct. 4, 1856, enclosing a letter from Ward to Slidell, Louisville, Sept. 30, 1856.

⁷¹ Washington, Oct. 17, 1856.

⁷² New York, Oct. 31, 1856.

⁷³ Washington, Nov. 13, 1856.

⁷⁴ Washington, Dec. 27, 1856.

⁷⁵ Senate Chamber, Jan. 5, 1857.

noyed, but I feel that you cannot correctly feel the public pulse any where else.”⁷⁶

Despite assurances to the contrary, Slidell cannot really ignore Cabinet appointments. It is fortunate that Bright of Indiana, by returning to the Senate, relieves Buchanan of the embarrassment of breaking with Douglas on that issue. But on the other hand, there must be no appointment of a Douglas partizan, for Douglas is altogether too high and mighty, setting up to control not merely Illinois, but the whole Northwest. The old animosity, laid aside for the campaign only, was developing into a bitter feud. As Slidell interpreted it, Douglas behaved “like a Malay maddened”, who, in his frenzy against Bright, included Slidell for defending him in his absence. “I have had to be very cool to prevent an open rupture with him and was obliged at last to tell him that when I ceased to be his friend and became his enemy it would not be necessary for him to have recourse to third parties, but would discover it by my altered bearing.” Nevertheless the Northwest cannot be ignored in Buchanan’s Cabinet, and in view of Douglas and his rivals, General Cass is its only available statesman. Any objections to Cass can be overcome by the appointment of a capable assistant, and he is the undoubted man for the State Department. His appointment, moreover, to that post, will relieve Buchanan of an embarrassing alternative between Cobb and Walker. Walker has great talents, but his friends control him. They are dangerous men. Of the two, Cobb is the safer, but Buchanan knows them as well as Slidell. One place should go to an Old Line Whig. Here Benjamin of Louisiana would be Slidell’s nominee. One more appointment, and Slidell is done. The navy, if it is to escape utter ruin, requires, during the next four years, a “firm, prompt, severe man”. In conclusion, Slidell apologizes for intruding on the Cabinet question, but pleads that his suggestions have the rare merit of unselfishness.⁷⁷

Buchanan having decided to visit Washington, the question arose where to lodge the President-elect. The National Hotel was unsafe because of an epidemic; Brown’s, in the neighborhood, might have been contaminated; and Willard’s savored too much of abolitionism.⁷⁸ Buchanan decided for himself on the National, and Slidell could only warn him not to eat or sleep there.⁷⁹ More thrilling, even if not more important, was the still vexed question of the Cabinet. Cass had

⁷⁶ A second letter of Jan. 5, 1857.

⁷⁷ Washington, Feb. 14, 1857.

⁷⁸ Washington, Feb. 18, 1857.

⁷⁹ Washington, Feb. 23, 1857.

consented to serve, agreeing very handsomely to leave the naming of his assistant to Buchanan. The candidate under discussion for the attorney-generalship was, by very reliable accounts, unfit.⁸⁰ Some appointment, Slidell positively insisted, must go to Toucey.⁸¹ "Allow me to say that the regret and disappointment at the omission of Mr. Toucey's name would be greater than you can well imagine and that it will be most sensibly felt by Your faithful friend etc, John Slidell."⁸²

Notwithstanding his many claims to Buchanan's favor, Slidell was modest in his requests. The patronage of Louisiana was his for the asking, but outside the state he made few recommendations. Governor Pratt of Maryland, an Old Line Whig, seemed to him the logical appointee as naval officer at Baltimore.⁸³ In fact, recognition of Maryland Whigs constituted a conscious policy with Slidell as the best hope of winning their state to the true faith.⁸⁴ Those who already walked in the light were mainly gathered at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, and the President was urged to mingle with these Southern admirers. On his failure to do so, however, Slidell put in writing what Buchanan would have gathered for himself, had he come, namely, the unanimity of Southern disapproval of Walker's course in Kansas during the summer of 1857, and of Southern confidence that Buchanan would at the first opportunity signify his own dissatisfaction with his emissary.⁸⁵

Buchanan and Slidell now being together in Washington, the necessity for written communication became slight, and their letters were few. But in August, 1858, on his arrival at Saratoga after a trip through the Northwest, Slidell addressed to the President a memorandum on conditions in the Douglas camp, the more interesting because of the widespread rumor that Slidell had circulated false stories in Chicago on purpose to discredit Douglas among his own constituents. Slidell makes no specific allusion to this charge, but recommends the removal at once of Douglas partizans from Federal office, and by requesting an appointment for Dr. Daniel Brainard as surgeon of the Marine Hospital, he strengthens a conviction, which denial will not silence, that it really was he who gave Brainard the mendacious account, promptly communicated by him to the press, of

⁸⁰ Senate Chamber, Feb. 19, 1857.

⁸¹ Telegram of Feb. 25, 1857.

⁸² Senate Chamber, Feb. 25, 1857.

⁸³ Mar. 11, 1857.

⁸⁴ White Sulphur Springs, Va., July 26, 1857.

⁸⁵ White Sulphur Springs, Va., Aug. 12, 1857.

the barbarous treatment of slaves on the Mississippi plantation administered by Douglas in the interest of his children.⁸⁶

Slidell himself, according to all the canons of precedent, was entitled to a great place in the Buchanan administration, and he was repeatedly offered the mission to Paris. He refused it on the ground of political necessity in Louisiana, and of his indisposition, with world affairs running smoothly, to accept "a mere mission of parade". But, unless Belmont would accept, he did feel impelled to recommend for the mission at Madrid his colleague Benjamin, whose appointment "will not only be satisfactory but gratifying to me in every way".⁸⁷

Slidell received no credit from Belmont for a solicitude which brought no results. Uncle and nephew soon parted company, with no small loss to the Buchanan organization. As for Slidell himself, a final and complete triumph over Soulé, by freeing him from anxiety in Louisiana, caused him to waver for a moment with regard to the French mission. But the Senate had a stronger claim, and there he remained, a loyal adherent of Buchanan, until the advent of secession terminated their ancient friendship. To the last it was a genuine personal affection, far deeper than a mere political alliance, and it is pleasant to know that it ended without bitterness or recrimination. The career of Buchanan had nearly run its course. For Slidell, Fate held in store strange experiences, at the very post which he refused from Buchanan only to accept from Jefferson Davis.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

⁸⁶ Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1858; see also James W. Sheahan, *Douglas*, pp. 439-441.

⁸⁷ Atlantic City, Aug. 22, 1858.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

DID THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS I. ASK FOR AID AT THE COUNCIL OF PIACENZA, 1095?

ACCORDING to Bernold of St. Blasien, Pope Urban II. summoned bishops from Italy, Burgundy, France, Alemannia, Bavaria, and other provinces to the Council of Piacenza held in March, 1095. "Item legatio Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad hanc sinodum pervenit, qui domnum papam omnesque Christi fideles suppliciter imploravit, ut aliquod auxilium sibi contra paganos pro defensione sanctae aeclesiae conferrent, quam pagani iam pene in illis partibus deleverant, qui partes illas usque ad muros Constantinopolitanae civitatis obtinuerant. Ad hoc ergo auxilium domnus papa multos incitavit, ut etiam jurejurando promitterent, se illuc Deo annuente ituros, et eidem imperatori contra paganos pro posse suo fidelissimum adiutorium collaturos. . . . In hac sinodo quatuor fere milia clericorum et plus quam triginta milia laicorum fuisse perhibentur."¹

Bernold began his chronicle in 1074; he died in 1100. He probably was present at the council, as he says in telling about it, "Missas quoque nonnunquam extra aeclesiam satis probabiliter, necessitate quidem cogente, celebramus."¹ At all events his bishop was present,² and Bernold had a good opportunity to learn what was done at the council.

Bernold's statement has been accepted by Gibbon, Röhricht, Hagenmeyer, Hertzog, Giesebrecht, and many others. Sybel asserts that the appeal of Alexius was "the final impulse"³ which caused the First Crusade. Riant, Chalandon, Luchaire, and others,⁴ on the contrary, have been unwilling to admit that the Emperor Alexius made an appeal for aid at Piacenza. Their most important argument for not accepting Bernold's statement has been that he was the only contemporary author who mentioned the preaching of the crusade at Piacenza. Those who have accepted Bernold's statement have known of no other contemporary source.⁵

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, V. 462. *

² Hagenmeyer, *Chron. de Zimmern*, p. 51; also in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. 66 and note.

³ *Gesch. d. Erst. Kreuzzugs*, first ed., p. 223; second and third ed., p. 182.

⁴ Cf. Tuthill, "The Appeal of Alexis for Aid in 1095", in *University of Colorado Studies*, vol. IV., no. 3.

⁵ The *Annals of Jumieges* (*M.G.SS.*, XXVI. 508) have however sometimes been cited as confirmatory evidence. The passage reads, "Eodem anno Urbanus

But there is another. In the *Historia Monasterii Novi Pictaviensis*,⁶ written by the monk Martin, we find: "Divino instinctu admonitus [Urbanus] gentes Christianorumque populos coepit commonere atque ad sepulchrum Domini locaque sancta de manu iniquorum auferenda piorum animas coepit invitare: contigit eundem Papam ejusmodi gratia ad Galliarum regna transitum facere. Nam celebrato quadragesimali tempore concilio apud Placentiam Italiae urbem in quo huius sancti praecinctus prima verba prolata sunt idem praedictus venerabilis Papa Alpes transcendit Julias; perveniens autem Arveniam Urbem, quae alio nomine Clarus-Mons dicitur. . . . Et sic illa verba quae quasi praeoccupando in Placentino concilio prolata sunt, in evidentiam et ostentationem sanctae militiae." . . .

This statement is very important, as it confirms Bernold's statement that Urban preached the crusade at Piacenza, although the council had been called "contra schismaticos". Baldric of Dol's statement may also be cited: "Publicae praedicationis causa, papa Romanus, Urbanus nomine, venit in Gallias. . . . Sane Placentiae concilio generali celebrato, praelibatus pontifex paulo post Arvernus advenit."⁷

The probable explanation of the introduction of this new subject into the agenda of the Council of Piacenza is the appeal of the Emperor as recorded by Bernold. Confirmations of his statement are to be found in the references to Constantinople and the Greek Empire in Urban's speech at Clermont as reported by Robert the Monk and Fulk of Chartres; and in Guibert's statement as to the causes of Urban's action.

Robert reports the pope as saying: "Ab Iherosolimorum finibus et urbe Constantinopolitana relatio gravis emersit et saepissime jam papa, qui prius in Italia concilium tenuerat pro exortatione Yerosolimitani itineris, iterum apud Clarum-montem concilium tenuit et constituit, ut christiani fixis crucibus in vestibus Ierusalem pergerent." The author of this part of the *Annals* and the date when it was written are not known. Consequently this notice has little, if any, value.

The so-called *Epistola Spuria* has also been much discussed in this connection. It is certainly not genuine in its present form, and its date is uncertain, so that it can have no value as evidence for Piacenza. Cf. Hagenmeyer, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, VI. 1 ff.; Chalandon, *Alexis I.*; Pirenne, in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, L. (1907) 217-227; see also Köhler, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VIII. 564.

⁶ Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum . . . Vitae*, I. 598; previously printed in Martène, *Thesaurus Anecd.*, II. The author was a contemporary (see Bouquet, XI. 118, note a). The fragment of this work stops at Jan., 1096. Cf. Molinier, *Sources*, no. 1435.

⁷ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Occid.*, IV. 12.

ad aures nostras pervenit. . . . Regnum Graecorum jam ab eis ita emutilatum est.”⁸

Fulk, in his brief summary of Urban’s speech, also records reference to the Greek Empire and the need of aid for it. “Necesse est enim, quatinus confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga conversantibus, auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato indigis, accelerato itinere succurratis. Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt, multos occidendo vel captivando, ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando.”⁹

Guibert says: “Is itaque vir eximius [Urbanus], quum ab Alexi Graecorum principe magnis honoraretur exeniis [exequiis], et precibus quidem, sed multo propensius generali Christianitatis periculo pulsaretur”. . . .¹⁰

Further corroboration for the connection of the Greek emperor with the inception of the crusade is to be found in the fact that Constantinople was made the official rendezvous for all the bands, and in the relations between the emperor and the Western leaders, especially Bohemond. But the account of these cannot be compressed into a brief note, intended merely to call attention to a new item of evidence and to indicate how this supplements, and is supplemented by, other information.¹¹

D. C. MUNRO.

THE FIRST ENDOWED PROFESSORSHIP OF HISTORY AND ITS FIRST INCUMBENT

ON the 17th of May, 1622, at the Convocation of the University of Oxford, formal announcement was made of a gift by William Camden, Clarenceux King at Arms, establishing what has been known as the Camden (Ancient) History Professorship. It is probable that some fitting commemoration of this foundation will be held at Oxford next October.

⁸ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, III. 727–728.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 323–324.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 135.

¹¹ The fact that Alexius had frequently asked for aid before the Council of Piacenza is universally admitted. Consequently I have not cited any of the sources which prove this fact, *e.g.*, Ekkehard’s statement, “per legationes tamen frequentissimas et epistolas” (Hagenmeyer, *Hierosolymita*, p. 80), which has often been used in connection with the emperor’s appeal at Piacenza, but may refer to the earlier appeals.

Camden's benefaction finds its historical place in a series of liberal gifts in the interest of advanced scholarship, of which the one most intimately connected with his is Sir Henry Savile's establishment of a chair of mathematics and astronomy in 1619. In the closing paragraph of Camden's *Britannia*, antedating the Savile donation by over a score of years, we read:

Nothing now remains but that after a safe passage among so many blind shallows of the ocean and rough rocks of antiquity, as the ancient seamen used to consecrate to Neptune their tattered sails, or a votive tablet, I should in like manner dedicate to the Almighty some deposit of venerable antiquity, which I now vow with the greatest cheerfulness and gratitude, and will perform, God willing, in due time.

This early general purpose to make a thank-offering has been interpreted as his intention to found the history lectureship. The earliest documentary evidence of this specific purpose, however, is found in the following letter from Sir Henry Savile to Camden.

Sir,

I have half a quarrel to you, that being lately so long together, and in so good leisure, you did not impart to me that, which it seems you have declared at large to my good Lord Paget, concerning your worthy purpose of founding an Humanity-Lecture in Oxford. Surely if you had, as he said, *aut re aut consilio aut opera juvero*: I have trod the path before you, and know the rubbs in such a business to my great pains and charge, I mean, in the means of settling it upon the University in a perpetuity. I know it well to my cost, and can give you good direction how to dispatch it with small ado, if you need my counsel. If not, I can do no more but wish a happy end to your honourable endeavour, and rest always, as I have, and for ever will be,

Your assured Friend to dispose of, and admirer of
your rare virtues,

ETON 25 Octob.
1621

HENRY SAVILE.

The allusion to the legal difficulties which he had encountered in establishing the Mathematical Professorship is amplified in a letter bearing date nine days later; its human quality of sympathetic interest is as entrancing as the information is important.

Sir,

I send you by this Bearer, my servant, the Original of the Covenants between the University and me under both our Seals. I think I showed you a first draught of them before, and even in these there is nothing worthy of your imitation; of something perchance it may put you in remembrance, further not.

I think not amiss to advertise you, that by plain Will without a Deed executed in life-time, no land will pass to a College or Corporation, as I have heard by my Counsel. I am sure Merton College hath felt it: for Doctor Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's Physician, whom you may have heard

on, or peradventure known, by Will left all his land of good value to his two daughters and their heirs; and for lack of heirs (as we understood they died without any children both) all his said lands to Merton College, whereof he was Fellow: but Doctor Bickley laboured, as I have heard, much in it, and could recover nothing. So that you must fly to some such course, as I advertised you in my last, or leave it upon Feoffees, men of sincerity and judgment, that your death do not frustrate your good intention. . . .

The deed of gift was duly signed on March 5, 1621/2, and formally registered by the master in chancery on April 14. The financial basis of the endowment was revenues from the manor of Bexley in Kent, which after ninety-nine years were to revert to the university. The estimated income was upwards of £400 per annum. In the meantime, the manor was to be held by William Heather and his heirs, who were to pay the incumbent of the professorship £20 the first year, £40 the next year, and £140 thereafter. Heather, who was organist in the Chapel Royal, made a home for Camden during his latter years and this prolongation of the reward is characteristic of Camden's liberality and humanity. Heather himself in 1626 founded the lectureship which became the music professorship at Oxford.

No sooner did the rumor of the plan to establish a praelectorship of history at the university reach Oxford than a "laudable ambition" to receive the appointment sprang up in many breasts. As early as December 19, 1621, the warden and scholars of New College recommended their colleague Daniel Gardiner. Already, however, just one month earlier, Thomas Allen, the eminent mathematician and antiquarian of Gloucester Hall, had written to Camden recommending an acquaintance of mine, one Mr. Whear, sometimes Fellow of Exeter College, and now resident in Gloucester-hall, a Master of Arts of twenty years standing, and a man who, besides his abilities of learning sufficient for such a place, is known to be of good experience, (having sometimes travelled) and of very honest and discreet conversation.

In his own letters to Camden, Whear reveals almost to the extent of obtrusiveness his own desire to receive the appointment. Camden did not know Whear personally up to the time when he had virtually decided to name him for the lectureship he was founding. Whear's chief eminence came later, from his headship of Gloucester Hall, where he became principal in 1626. There he showed a vigor of administration which brought that house perhaps its highest degree of prosperity. He seems ever to have kept well within the academic proprieties in his attitude toward the ruling powers. When the loyalty of the university sought expression on special occasions through poetical effusions, Degory Whear was usually among the contributors,

with a manifest tendency toward anagram. In 1603, he was one of 320 writers in the *Academiae Oxoniensis Pietas* upon the accession of James I. In 1623, he contributed as "prim. Hist. Prael. Camdenianus" to the *Carolus Redux*, celebrating that prince's journey to Spain and return thence. Upon the death of James I., he contributed to the *Oxoniensis Academiae Parentalia*, and in 1633, when Charles I. was attacked by sickness, he provided one of the 108 poems in the *Musarum Oxoniensium pro Rege suo Soteria*. The birth of a prince (the later James II.) that same year, and, in 1641, the return of the King from Scotland stir up the muse in Oxford and one does not look in vain for the initials W. D., lifted out of ambiguity by the added designation, "Princ. of Gloucester (or St. Alb.) hall".

Whear had been publicly named for the praelectorship when the foundation itself was announced, but fearing lest some one might attack the legal status of the incumbent, which rested upon mere nomination ("ex nuda et simplici nominatione minus firmo"), Camden sent to the university a formal document, duly attested, which may be translated as follows:

Octobr. 16, 1622.

I, William Camden, have constituted and do constitute as first Reader of History, Degory Whear, who has been recommended by letters of the most honorable Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and many most learned men and afterwards by experience and by dissertations on History, now more completely observed by myself: and it is my will that he shall lecture first to the youth on L. Annaeus Florus, so long as he pleases.

WM. CAMDEN.

This is looked upon as the authentication of Whear's formal entrance upon the lectureship and it is the October date rather than that of May which will probably be observed as the tercentenary.

Very soon the question arose concerning the obligations of the praelector as regards the field of history to be covered by him. Camden thereupon drew up his "Explication", which is so worded as to place the chief responsibility for the proper conduct of the chair on the incumbent himself.

Whereas I understand there hath been some doubt and question made touching the subject of my lecture, and what kind of History I intended my reader should insist upon, I do hereby signify, that it ever was and is my intention, that (according to the practice of such professors in all the Universities beyond the seas) hee should read a civil history, and therein make such observations, as might bee most usefull and profitable for the younger students of the University, to direct and instruct them in the knowledge and use of history, antiquity, and times past. Whose advancement in that way my desires especially aimed at, and I trust both my present reader (according to those laudable beginnings, which I have seen, and do hear are well approved) wil carefully labour to effect, and

such as shal hereafter succeed him also diligently endeavour the fulfilling of my desires, not intermedling with the history of the church or controversies farther than shal give light into those times, which hee shal then unfold, or that author, which hee then shal read, and that very briefly; in the choice thereof I thinke the readers discretion should alwaies bee sufficient, and therefore hold it not requisite to prescribe any farther, then I have done in the instrument of my first choice.

January 6, 1622, in praesentia mei THOMAE CLAYTON -
Regii Professoris in Medicina.

WILLIAM CAMDEN,
Clarenceux.

The University authorities apparently did not hasten in prescribing regulations for the Camden Professorship. The text of the statute is given in the *Camdeni Vita*, with the marginal information that the rules were "longo post tempore factas".

In the early summer of 1623, Degory Whear delivered the first formal lecture on the Camden foundation, on *Florus*. In the *Explication* just quoted, Camden specified both the knowledge and use of history as objects also to be served. Whear went immediately at these by preparing the lecture first given on July 12, 1623, which he later repeated in enlarged form and which represents his permanent contribution to the literature of historical studies, viz., his *De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias*, or as it appears in the English translation of the enlarged work, *The Method and Order of Reading both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories in which the most Excellent Historians are Reduced into the Order in which they are Successively to be Read; and the Judgment of Learned Men, concerning each of them, subjoined*. This work itself can scarcely be called fascinating and we wonder that it lived in active use as long as it did. Yet immediately after the first lectures, which some at once wished him to publish, his hearers followed him up for further help and counsel, at the expense of his anticipated leisure. Editions were brought out in London in 1623 and in Oxford in 1625 and at least four seventeenth-century editions (1637, 1660, 1662, 1684) of the enlarged work (*Reflectiones*) were published. Although there is not much vitality in the lectures, which abound in long quotations from other writers, they were much used in Oxford, and as late as 1700 they were still in use in Cambridge. Apart from the evidence of the editions, among which Edmund Bohun's English translation and especially the Nuremberg edition of 1660 are significant, there is little to show that Degory Whear made any very important contribution to any phase of erudition, except as we may recognize his whole career as a positive influence in that direction.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

DOCUMENTS

Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613-1631, II.

C. CONCERNING THE TOBACCO CONTRACT.

IN this division of Lord Sackville's papers relating to the early history of Virginia, the first place belongs to a group of documents exhibiting the successive stages by which the contract for the exclusive importation of tobacco by the Virginia and Somers Islands companies came into its final form.

On July 3, 1622, in a "Great and General Quarter Court" of the Virginia Company, a series of propositions concerning the proposed contract was agreed upon. These propositions, seventeen in number, were entered in the company's records, and their text is to be found there (*Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 85-88). Of this draft there is a copy among Lord Sackville's papers, no. 6158. It is marked in red ink as "No. 3", that number referring to the series, numbered from 1 to 21, spoken of (and perhaps so numbered) by Dr. Peter Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar*,¹ as has been mentioned in the introduction to the first installment of these papers (pp. 493-495, *supra*). Since this document agrees entirely with that which is printed in the *Records* of the Virginia Company under date of July 3, it is not necessary to print it here.

On July 17, in an ordinary court of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys reported that the Somers Islands Company, in their Great Quarter Court held on July 10, had given their consent to the proposals which the Virginia Company had accepted the week before, with the exception of article 5, relating to customs dues. That article had provided that, instead of the levy of sixpence a pound on roll tobacco and fourpence a pound on leaf, the companies should pay in each of the three years of the contract a sum equal to the average of what had been due, under the rates named, in the seven years preceding. To this the Somers Islands Company demurred, preferring to pay the existing duty on the quantities actually brought in, and arguing also that such an arrangement would make the customs officials more vigilant to prevent the bringing in of Spanish tobacco by interlopers than if they were sure in advance of all that they could anyway get. "Whereupon", say the *Records* of the Virginia Company,²

¹ Pp. 156-165.

² *Records*, II. 98.

it beinge taken into consideracion whither an Inferior Court had any power to alter that w^{ch} was so solemnly ratified by a Quarter Court it was resolved it could not, but withall they held it fitt to signifie to my Lo: Treasurer and certifie by waye of Declaration of their perticular opinions that they conceived the Summer Ilands Companie for many substantiall reasons had taken the better course, and therefore the Companie of Virginia would not oppose the drawinge up of the Patent accordinge to the desire and resolution of the Summer Ilands Companie, not doubting but if the next Quarter Court for Virginia should not approve thereof they shall entreat his l[ordshi]p their first order may Stand.

No. 6159 of Lord Sackville's papers, marked "No. 4" in red ink, is a version of the proposals for the contract in the form in which they were agreed upon by the Somers Islands Company on the occasion above described. It differs only in article 5 from that which was adopted by the Virginia Company and which is printed in its *Records*. Therefore it is not thought necessary to do more here than to print its heading and fifth article, under no. XLI., below.

In an ordinary court held on November 6,³ Sir Arthur Ingram reported that the Lord Treasurer wished to stipulate that all the Spanish tobacco brought in by the companies should be of the best Varinas. To this amendment the two companies somewhat reluctantly consented. In a general quarter court held on November 20,⁴ it is reported that the Lord Treasurer wishes also to omit article 9, which related to the fixing of prices, to provide in article 8 that in case the companies could not bring in 80,000 pounds of Varinas in the first two years, they might have the third year for it, and to make provision for the case that the Spanish government should alter its rates and regulations respecting the export of Spanish tobacco. To the first two of these modifications the companies agreed; the last was referred to an ordinary court held on November 22, at which Lord Southampton presented a new article (a new article 9, we may call it) as a substitute for the latter part of the original article 8, and dealing with the effects of possible changes of system by the Spanish government. Its text is printed in the *Records* of that day, which then goes on to state as follows the action of the court respecting it:⁵

Wherefore esteeminge of this bargaine (as they were advised by a noble and Hono^rble person) not as good meat well sawced but of a porcion necessarie for their health, beinge willing (as his l^p: said) devorare molestiam of this bitter pill, they desired the Ea: of Southampton to put it to the question: Whereupon the Article by ereccion of handes was confirmed and approved accordingly as it was read.

Nevertheless the contract was held in suspense for a time, signed

³ *Ibid.*, II. 121.

⁴ II. 138-140.

⁵ II. 142-143, 144.

again by Middlesex on February 12, discussed further by the company in March and April, and finally abandoned by the Privy Council by vote of April 28.⁶

Light is cast on all these transactions by the third copy of the contract found among Lord Sackville's papers, no. 6162 ("No. 8" of Peckard's enumeration). It is a copy of the propositions printed in the Virginia Company's *Records*, endorsed in the hand of Richard Willis "Examined and noted by my Lorde", and bears in the margins a number of comments indicating the amendments which the Lord Treasurer meant sooner or later to secure. These comments are given, under no. XLII., below, in a form which it is hoped will be intelligible to anyone having before him a text of the original propositions as printed in the company's *Records*.

No. XLIII., below, the fourth of these versions, doc. no. 6166 (marked "No. 12" in red ink), presents the text of the propositions as finally agreed upon and as signed by Middlesex. A fifth version, no. 6194, differs from this only by the omission of a few words which Middlesex had at the last indicated to be omitted, and in the addition of a record of the company's action, which we have included at the end of no. XLIII.

The other papers are for the most part incidental to these, or mark various stages in the conflict respecting the tobacco contract and the alternatives proposed for it, though the absence of dates from most of them makes it difficult to give them a satisfactory order of arrangement, and the provenance of several remains obscure. In general terms, however, it may be said that the next two pieces, nos. XLIV. and XLV., are documents made in explanation or pursuance of the contract; that the five which ensue, nos. XLVI.-L., are documents proposing alternative arrangements, advanced during discussions on the terms of the contract or during its suspension by the Lord Treasurer and Privy Council; that nos. LI. and LII. are pronouncements hostile to the contract and no. LIII. a reply to the second of them; and that nos. LIV.-LVI. are papers consequent on the dissolution or impending dissolution of the contract.⁷

⁶ *Records*, II. 264, 335-340, 353-357, 365-372, 392; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. But see nos. LIV. and LV. and notes, below.

⁷ The documents which Peckard noted as among the papers of the Duke of Dorset may be identified as follows:

- His no. 1 is in Peckard, p. 162;
- No. 3 (the present no. 6158) is in *Records*, II. 85-88;
- No. 4 is in part given in our no. XLI.;
- No. 6 is our XLVII.;
- No. 7 is our XXIX., in the previous installment;

Much the best account of all this matter of the contract for the sole importation of tobacco is that of Professor William R. Scott in his *History of Joint-Stock Companies*.⁸

XLII. PROPOSITIONS OF THE SOMERS ISLANDS COMPANY, JULY 10, 1622.⁹

Propositions agreed on by the Governor and Company for the Summer Ilands in a generall Quarter Court held on Wedensday the 10th of July touchinge a Contract to be made with his Majestie for the sole importation of Tobacco between them and the Virginia Company. . . .

5. The companie for the Summer Ilands are contented to pay the usuall custome of vi *d.* the pound waight for roll Tobacco and 4 *d.* for leafe for their two third partes duringe the time of this contract and his Majestie in like sorte to paye for his third parte: But they desire his Lordship to be pleased that they may have the allowance of 5 *li.* per centum as is usuall in other marchandizes with reasonable care Tobacco beinge a perishinge commoditie, and besides to graunt unto them vi moneth's time for payment of the said custome.

XLII. NOTES OF THE LORD TREASURER ON THE PROPOSITIONS,
JULY-OCTOBER, 1622.¹⁰

[*Against article 4, concerning customs duties.*] It is not intended the garbling of tobacco should be exempted but the companies and Patentees¹¹ to make agreement if they cann, otherwise the Lord Treasurer to order it. [The proviso with which this article ends, that the companies shall not be constrained to import any more tobacco from the two plantations than they think fit, is struck out, and this note follows.] This which is strooke out shall not need to be mentioned one way nor other in the Letters Patents; but it is expected there shalbe reall and honest dealing as hath bip promised.

No. 8, its marginal notes rather, is our XLII.;

No. 9 is our LI.;

No. 10 (the present no. 6164) is in *Records*, II. 325-327, and in Peckard, pp. 164-165;

No. 11 is our LIV.;

No. 12 is our XLIII.;

No. 13 is our LIII.;

No. 15 is our VI., in the first installment;

No. 16 is our XXXVIII.;

No. 17 is our XLIX.;

No. 18 is our XXIXa., in the first installment;

No. 19 (the present no. 6172) is a court record in *Records*, II. 121;

No. 20 is our XLV.;

No. 21 (the present no. 6174) is in Peckard, pp. 157-159.

⁸ II. 272-283.

⁹ From no. 6159, marked "No. 4" in red ink.

¹⁰ From no. 6162, marked "No. 8" in red ink. Cf. the propositions in *Records*, II. 85-88. These notes must be of an earlier date than the statement of Middlesex's position made *ibid.*, II. 121, Nov. 6, 1622.

¹¹ Those who had the patent for garbling; see p. 526, note 108.

[*Against article 5*, relating to the commutation of customs, there is an index-hand, no doubt to call attention to the alternative proposed by the Somers Islands Company, with the additional remark:] It must be provided that it be transported within the compasse of one yeare, as other goodes of the like nature.

[*Against article 7*, providing for the appointment of a consignee by the companies, they to have the sole management of sales and to account to the king:] The company to name one officer, and it is just the Lord Treasurer for the King name another about the tobacco only. The Accompt to be made up halfe yearly and within 40 dayes after the mony to be payd in to the Exchequer.

[*Against article 8*, respecting the bringing in of 40,000 lbs. of Spanish tobacco in each of the first two years:] Although it be expressed in this kinde in the grant, yet it must be provided collaterally that this clawse shall not worke to the prejudice of the Kinge, but that there shalbe 40000 weight of the best Verinus Tobacco¹² brought in for the first two yeares, Except the companies shall make it appeare that by some act of State in Spaine, there is course taken so to inhaunce the price that it is not fitt to be brought in.

[*Against article 9*, respecting the fixing of prices, is an index-hand, the Lord Treasurer, as mentioned in the introduction above, objecting to this article.]

[*Against article 13*, respecting the sharing of confiscations and penalties.] This to be confirmed according to Mr. Porters Patent¹³ that his Majestie may make noe defalcacion.

[*In article 14* the Lord Treasurer has underlined, as deserving to be omitted, the provision for a similar division of tobacco confiscated between this July 3 and Michaelmas next, but has added the note:] The last part of this article to stand [*i. e.*, the provision that such confiscated tobacco should be sent out of the realm to be sold elsewhere].

[*Endorsed:*] Propositions for the sole importacion of tobacco agreed on in a quarter courte held for Virginia the 3 of July 1622.

[*And, in the hand of Richard Willis:*] Examined and noted by my Lorde.

XLIII. THE COMPLETED CONTRACT, NOVEMBER 27, 1622.¹⁴

Propositions agreed on by the Lord Highe Treasurer of England and the Companie for Virginia and the Summer Ilands touching the sole importation of Tobacco.

1. That the sole importation of Tobacco into the Realms of England

¹² Tobacco of Varinas (Barinas) in western Venezuela.

¹³ Grant to Endymion Porter and Richard Peate, Dec. 30, 1618, for seven years, of all fines for non-payment of subsidy and for importation and exportation of prohibited goods. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, s. d.

¹⁴ No. 6166, marked "No. 12" in red ink; summarized in Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar*, pp. 160-161. In a meeting of the two companies on Nov. 27, 1622, it was announced that the Lord Treasurer had signed the contract (in the form here presented) after striking out certain words in the seventh article, whereupon the contract was agreed to by the companies, with no dissenting voice. *Records*, II. 147, 148, 157. In a meeting held on Feb. 12, 1623, it was announced "that the Contract which had so longe hunge in suspence was nowe

and Ireland be granted by his Majestie's Letters Patents under his great Seale to the Companys for Virginia and the Summer Ilands.

2. That his Majesty by proclamation inhibit all others under payne of confiscation of their Tobacco and his Majestie's highe displeasure.¹⁵

3. That likewise the planting of tobacco in England and Ireland be forbidden by the said proclamation under a grevous penalty.

4. In consideration whereof as also for that the Companies shall be discharged from all other payments for Tobacco during their term to his Majesty excepting only the ancient Custom sett down in the printed Booke of Rates¹⁶ of Sixpence per pound for Roll Tobacco and fowre pence for leaf, The Companies shall pay to his Majesty whatsoever shall arise out of the Sale of a full third part of all the Tobacco that shall be yearly imported into either of these two Realms whether the same be afterwards vented within the said Realms or in any other place whatsoever.

5. The Companies are content that his Majestie bee disburdened from all payments for the freight of Tobacco imported from the Two Plantations or from any other forraigne parts into either of these his Realms. But his Majesty to covenant that after the first arrivall of the said Tobacco from either of the said Plantations or other forraigne Dominions, to bear one third part of all charges whatsoever incident to the said Tobacco aswell for the custom and subsidy landing carying and howsing thereof, as also for the keeping tending curing and sorting of the same: and likewise for the transporting it, whether by Sea, freshwater or land into divers parts of either of these his Realms or any other place there to be sould and distributed. Also that his Majesty beare a full third part of all Salaries due to Officers Factors and Agents, and to all other Ministers and Servants to be employed in any sort within either of these Realms about the said Tobacco or other busines whatsoever incident to this Contract only, which Salaries to be appoynted and sett downe by the said Companies in their generall Coorts where and by whom likewise the said Officers Agents Factors Ministers and Servants shall be chosen. And likewise that his Majesty beare one third part of all costs and charges in Suits of Lawe for any matter of buisines concerning the said Tobacco or for recovery of any Debts from thence arising. And finally for all other charges whatsoever after the arrivall of it in either of the Kingdoms of England or Ireland necessary or convenient for the well ordering of the said Tobacco and for making the best profit to the use of his Majestie and the Companies aforesaid, Freight excepted as aforesaid.

again sent signed by the Lord Treasurer without any alteration at all from that which was formerly agreed on by the Quarter Courtes", but that he desired to delay for three or four months the issue of the proclamation provided for in article 2. *Records*, II. 264-265. This document, it will be seen, bears the signature of Middlesex and both dates. The words which Middlesex in November desired to eliminate from article 7 are underlined, and are here printed in italics. Another copy, no. 6194, omits these words but is dated Nov. 27, 1622, and ends with the record, given below, of the action of the companies on that day.

¹⁵ This proclamation was never issued. Middlesex, Feb. 12, 1623, "for some waightie reasons, no waye prejudiciall for the Companies", desired it might be respited for three or four months, promising however that he would write at once to all ports such letters as would have the same effect (see XLV., below); to this the companies reluctantly agreed, provided the issue of the proclamation were not deferred beyond June 20. *Records*, II. 265-266.

¹⁶ The *Book of Rates* of 1611.

6. That the Tobacco to be brought in be consigned all into one hand viz: of such Officers as the said Companyes shall appoynt: And that the said Companyes have the sole menaging of the said Sale of Tobacco, Yielding unto his Majestie a true and perfect account thereof every half yeare viz: our Ladie day and Michaelmas or within Ten dayes after, The first account to be made at our Ladie day next, and paying the cleer profit received¹⁷ which shall growe due unto his Majesty unto such as the Lord Treasurer and the Chancelor of the Exchequer shall appoynt to receive the same within Ten dayes after the said account, In which account all the said charges to be allowed and defalked as aforesaid.

7. The Companyes will be contented *to be restrayned from the bringing in of any Spanish tobacco above the quantety of Sixtie Thousand weight a yeare, and to be tied likewise* by covenant¹⁸ for the bringing in of fortie thousand weight of the best Varinaes Spanish Tobacco in each of the first two yeares of this contract And if the best sort of Varinaes Tobacco can not be convenyently provided in the said two first yeares, that then so much as shall want of 40000 weight in each yeare shall be supplied in the third yeare, So that the full quantety of fowre score Thousand weight in the whole be made up in the sayd three yeares. And this Covenant for the bringing in of Spanish Tobacco to be of force untill the said 80000 weight be brought in and no longer.

8. And it is desired that an indifferent covenant be drawne up by his Majesties Learned Counsell and the Counsell for Virginia and the Summer Ilands, that in case an extraordinary charge shall have been layd upon the said Varinaes Tobacco by the State of Spaine since the feast of St. Michael the Archangell last past, beeing the time whence this Contract is to have beginning, or hereafter shall be layd during the time of three yeares from thence next ensuing more then was at the said Feast of St. Michael last past: In such case, the company shall be cleerly discharged of their said covenant of bringing in of Spanish Tobacco from the time the said extraordinary charge shall be layd untill it be reversed. And after the reversing thereof, the quantity of the best Varinaes Tobacco, which shall then remayne unbronght in of the said fowre score Thousand weight, shall be brought in within the compas of the first three yeares which shall be or have been cleer from the said extraordinary charge, to be computed from the beginning of this Contract. And in case there appeare any practise by the marchants of Spaine or others by meanes whereof the said Companyes can not make their provisions of the said quantity of the best Varinaes Tobacco as they have agreed unto but to their excessive charge, In such case the Company not to be pressed upon the said covenant in extremity; but to make his Majesty such satisfaction as shall be just and conscionable. But if by the practise fraud or negligence of the said companyes their Factors or Deputies, the said quantity of 80000 weight of the best Varinaes Tobacco shall not be imported within the compas of the said first three yeares, Then the said Companyes shall be answerable to his Majesty for every pound weight so wanting of the said Varinaes Tobacco belonging to his Majesty's Third, after the rate of Ten shillings the pound weight.

¹⁷ The Virginia Company had inserted this word "received", and Middlesex had acquiesced. *Records*, II. 148.

¹⁸ The words italicized are those to which Middlesex objected and which the companies consented to omit. *Ibid.* No. 6914 reads, "7. The Companyes will be contented to be tied by covenant", etc.

9. It is likewise desired that for recovery of all such Debts as shall from time to time growe due to the Companies by occasion of this Contract, The said Debts may be assigned over unto the King when and so often as need shall require.

10. They likewise desire that there may be incerted in the Contract a Grant and Covenant from his Majesty against the granting of Licenses to Retailors of Tobacco: So that the sale thereof may remayne free, as hetherto it hath doon.

11. That his Lordship be pleased to take a strict coorse for the preventing of all undue bringing in of Tobacco by other meanes.

12. That all confiscations and other penalties upon this Contract be divided into three parts: The one part to his Majestie's use, the other to the Companye's, the third to the Informers, not prejudicing any former Grants already made by his Majesty.

13. That this Contract beginne at Michaelmas 1622 last past, and continue for the space of Seven yeares.

14. That his Majesty's Grant may be drawne and construed in most beneficiall manner for the Companye's behoof, and for the advancement of the said Plantations, his Majesty's proffitt as aforesaid reserved: wherein the Companies are to covenant to carrie themselves fairlie according to the true intent of the bargaine.

November 27th, 1622.

MIDDELSEX.

[*Endorsed:*] The contract for the sole importation
of tobacco Signed by my lord the 12. February 1622.

In another copy of the same document (no. 6194) article 14 is followed immediately by this continuation:

These propositions having been often tymes deliberately treated on by the companies for Virginia and the Sumer Ilands in their generall Courtes: were lastly with generall consent approved and concluded in a great and generall Quarter Courte held by the company for the Sumer Ilandes on Wedensday the 27th of November, 1622. As likewise in a great and generall court held extraordinarily by the Company for Virginia at the same tyme and appointed by the last Quarter Court for the said Companie for Virginia to joyne with the said Quarter courte of the said company for the Sumer Ilands in a finall conclusion concerning the said Propositions. There being present at the said Courtes the Right Honorable Henry Earle of Southampton, Treasurer of the company for Virginia,¹⁹ William Lord Cavendish, Governor of the Company for the Sumer Ilands,²⁰ with sundrie other Lordes, Knightes, Gentlemen, Marchantes and other good cittizens, who with unanimous consent did allowe of and ratifie the said Propositions no one dissentinge.

ED. COLLINGWOOD, Secre.²¹

[*Endorsed:*] The Contract for the sole Importation
of Tobacco, 27 November 1622.

[*And by Willis:*] The Articles for Tobacco.

¹⁹ Henry Wriothesley (1573–1624), third earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, treasurer of the Virginia Company from June 28, 1620, to its dissolution in 1624.

²⁰ Afterward (1626–1628) second earl of Devonshire; governor of the Somers Islands Company from April, 1622, to April, 1623. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 286, 298.

²¹ Secretary of the Virginia Company from June 28, 1620 (*Records*, I. 386), till its dissolution.

XLIV. LORD CAVENDISH'S ESTIMATES OF THE WORKINGS OF THE CONTRACT.²²[A] The Contract not standing
The Planter computes thus

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Having by my labour attayned 3 pound of Tobacco to have the benefit thereof returned me I must first pay for fraught into England	0	1	0
Then I must pay for Custome at 6 <i>d.</i> per pound	0	1	6
Then I must pay for Impost at 6 <i>d.</i> per pound	0	1	6
Total	0	4	0
Then I shall sell my Tobacco at the rate found hitherto by experience of 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per pound one with another which for 3 pounds is	0	7	6
Out of this deductinge my charges above reckoned of 4 <i>s.</i> there will remayne to be returned me for my labour, and to-wardes my mayntenance for 3 pounds	0	3	6

[B] The Contract standing
The Planter computes thus

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Haveinge by my labour attayned 3 pound of Tobacco; to have the benefit thereof returned me I must First pay for fraught into England	0	1	0
Then for 2/3 of Custome	0	1	0
Then for the raising of that somme of 2500 <i>l.</i> towardes house and rent charges, salaryes and extraordinary occasions for my 2/3	0	0	6
Total	0	2	6

Then by vertue of the sole sale I hope to sell my 3 pound of tobacco for 4 *s.* a pound at the least which will be 0—12—0

Out of this 12 *s.* deductinge his Majestie's third, being 4 *s.*, and the 2 *s.* 6 *d.* charges above reckoned, there will remayne to be returned me for my labour towardes my mayntenance 0—5—6

So that comparatively the contract will be better to me then if there were no such contract by 2 *s.* in every three pound of Tobacco.

Also to say absolutely this will be sufficient for me to live on being 22 *d.* a pound for my Tobacco which to prove I urge this that if Tobacco in Spayne may be sold for a Ryall²³ a pound, the Planter of it in the Spanish Plantations would be fowre fold in worse case.

[C] Touching his Majesties profit, I compute thus

The ordinary quantity of Tobacco imported into England of all sortes (according to a medium computed out of the Customer's bookes) hath bene about 200,000 weight which at 6 *d.* per pound Custome, and 6 *d.* per pound Impost comes to 200,000 shillings which is 10000 *l.*

²² No. 6181. The calculations here designated in brackets as *A* and *C* are written on the left-hand side of large sheets, those designated *B* and *D* on the right-hand side, opposite them, for comparison.

²³ Real, one-eighth of a dollar.

Admitting that by vertue of the order to be taken for importing of all the Colony's Tobacco, there shall come in 400,000 weight of Tobacco from all partes which is the greatest quantity mentioned by Sir John Worstenholme,²⁴ yet this comes but to 20000 l.

And even thus it is short by above 3000 l. of the profit his Majestie shall have by the contract and liberty of importation.

[D] Touching his Majestie's profit I compute thus
For the 2 first yeres:

	l.	s.	d.
If 200,000 weight of Tobacco be brought in, there must be for the first 2 yeres be brought in 40000 weight of it in the best Spanish Tobacco, the rest being Colony Tobacco will be 160,000 weight.			
His Majestie's 3 d. of the best Spanish tobacco at 16 s. a pound will be	10666.	13.	4
His Majestie's 3 d. of the 160,000 weight of Colony Tobacco at 4 s. a pound will likewise amount to	10666.	13.	4
His Majesties custome for our $\frac{2}{3}$ still reserved on the whole quantity brought in at 200,000 weyght comes to	3333.	6.	8
Total	24666.	13.	4

If lesse come in the price will be greater and so the King's profit will be held up in the price equivalent.

For the rest of the time:

For the rest of the time after, if no Spanish Tobacco at all be brought in, then the Colony Tobacco will beare the price of 6 d. a pound whereby his Majestie's 3 d. of the 200,000 weight will be 20000 l.

which with the foresaid $\frac{2}{3}$ of custome still reserved being 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. make 23333. 6. 8

[Endorsed:] Computation of the planter which serves also for the Adventurer or freeholder. [Also, in Cranfield's hand:] Concerning Planting Tobacco: Received of my Lord Candish.

XLV. DRAFT OF LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT.²⁵

After my hartie Comendacions. Whereas his Majestie hath beene graciously pleased in favour of the Plantaciones of Virginia and Summer Ilands to enter into Contract with the Companies for the saide Plantaciones for the sole importacion of Tobacco from Michaelmas last paste for and during the tearme of seaven years thence next ensuing, by

²⁴ See p. 538, note 144. The allusion is to remarks of Wolstenholme quoted in *Records*, II. 32.

²⁵ No. 6173, marked "No. 20" in red ink. The draft seems to have been prepared, probably by a committee of the company (*Records*, II. 162), in pursuance of the Lord Treasurer's promise mentioned in note 15 above; it has been corrected and there are six fair copies annexed.

which contract itt is ordered that all Tobacco that shalbe brought into this Realme duringe that tearme shalbe first consigned into the hands of the saide Companies: Theis are therefore to will and require you on his Majestie's behalfe that imeadiatlie from and after the receipte of these presentes you forbear in that Porte and all other places within your chardge search and veiue to take any entry of Custome for Tobacco there to be landed butt that if such Tobacco be brought from either of the saide Plantaciones you take a coorse for the safe and speedie sending up of the same to the Porte of the City of London ther to paie the Custome due for it and to be consigned into the Companies accordinge to their saide Contract,

Which Companies shalbe accomptable to the owners of the saide Tobacco for the full profit thereof accordinge to the Articles of the saide Contract And in case any Tobacco of the growth of either of the saide Plantacions have beene allredie brought in since Michaelmas last that you forthwith send notice therof to the Governors or their Deputies of the saide Plantacions resydinge in London, wherein you are to expresse the quantitie of the same; what sorts itt was of and by whome itt was brought in. And if any Tobacco not of the growth of one of the saide Plantacions since Michallmas laste paste have bine or shalbe brought in during the time of the saide Contract that you seaze the same to the use of his Majestie and such others unto whome the forfeiture thereof shall appertaine, And in case the saide seazure shall have formerlie beene neglected that yett you make due certificate to the saide Governors and Deputies as well of the severall owners and quantities of the said Tobacco as of all other particularities therto belonginge. And generally you and everie of you are straightlie charged and commaunded on his Majestie's behalfe as you will answere all neglects therin at your perill to have a vigilant care over this matter of Tobacco that nothinge be done committed or suffered prejudiciall to the saide Contract (of the generall clauses wherof you shall hereafter have more particular notice) beinge a matter soe greatlie concerninge his Majestie's profit and the advancement of the saide Plantacions which are no lesse deare unto him. And soe I bid you farewell.

[*Endorsed:*] Draught of a letter to the Ports concerning Tobacco.

XLVI. ARGUMENT FOR A MONOPOLY.²⁶

Reasons to induce his Majestie to assume to himselfe and grant the sole importation of tobacco.

It is out of question within the true limitts of his Majestie's prerogative utterlie to prohibite the importation of any newe uselesse or forraigne comoditie, that any way either is hurtfull to the comon wealth in generall or wastfull to his subjects in particuler.

Secondly of any such as is neither fitt for the necessities of man's life in meate or cloathing, nor for the good or strength of the kingdome and in the strictest judgements of Parliamentes matters of great necessity have bin deposited unto the wisdom of the King untill an other Parliament²⁷ bycause many thinges may happen betweene which could

²⁶ No. 6186.

²⁷ Alluding no doubt to the manner in which King James's sudden dissolution of the Parliament of 1621 interrupted action on monopolies.

not absolutely bee provided for, and if his Majestie may utterlie prohibite consequentlie hee may bound the same either in quantitie or to particuler persons.

It is evident in this case of Tobacco that by the excessive abuse thereof the quantitie imported is so great that it equaleth or exceedeth most sorts of Spices and it must bee bought either for our English comodities or for money, the value of both which are utterlie consumed and the kingdome so much yearlie by it impoverished, and this abundance hath so raised the price that for the same quantitie trebble the price is wasted to buy it in, that was usuall in former yeares.

To prevent which, seeing his Majestie in his wisdom hath not thought it fitt, utterlie to banish this stranger, the next consideration is, how to abate the price beyond the seas, that lesse in substance may furnish the kingdome, and so necessarilie the price will fall lower within the kingdome, and much of the generall wast and of the particuler wilbee prevented.

There are two causes that in these later yeares have rayased the forraigne price of Tobacco; one by a combination of the stranger to ingrosse all into the handes of a Companie whereof the chiefe is called Ferdinand Lopez d'Acosta which hath bin two yeares practised and is well knowne to all the Tobacco buyers to their cost and damage, who have, and as yet determine to hold upp or advance the price of that comoditie to the losse of this Kingdome.

The seaconde cause is the eager forwardnes of these buyers of Tobacco that upon the first noise of a parcell runne beyond the seas, and if they can not carrie money do fitt themselves, with English comodities proper for Spaine and such as the Spanish marchant chieflie dealeth in, and there to prevent any other selleth his goodes at 15 or 20 per cent losse to the abasement of our owne English staple comodities and to the ruine of the Spanish marchant, as is evident by the complaint and petition of the said Spanish marchants, and this straggling buyer can make himself whole by selling his weede at home at his owne pleasure. The Spanish marchant cannot reforme this abuse unlesse they were made a companie, which as wee are informed his Majestie is tender to doe, having bin dissolved by Parliament,²⁸ and at the best hand, if the Spanish marchant have mony in specie which he would sende over, this Tobaccoist will give him so much profitt upon exchange, as he will never adventure it in kind.

By the sole importation of Tobacco it is projected to meete with both those abuses, and to hold the stranger to the first moderate price of 6, 7 or 8 Rials the pound, or as neere as they can, and by a joint stocke made heere at home and factors kept abroad either by exchange from Antwerpe or by sale of our owne comodities to their true value to furnish the said Tobacco at a third part of the price it hath lately cost into the kingdome whereby the greatest wast wilbee prevented, the Bullion of the marchant not intercepted, no silver exported, the Spanish marchant disburthened of those stragglers and their abuses, and in all probability the comoditie sould in grosse cheaper, and the particuler spender thereby eased and his Majesties revenewe increased to a good value and to a certaintie.

²⁸ For the action of the Parliament of 1621 against monopolies see Gardiner, *History of England*, IV. 125, 140.

XLVII. ARGUMENT FOR A FREE TRADE.²⁹

Reasons why a free trade for Tobacco wilbee more benifitiall unto his Majestie then the sole Importacion to bee graunted unto any particuler Company.

First, it appeareth that the tobacco vented in this Kingdome is yearly at leaste 300,000 *lb.* weighte which beeinge devided the one halfe to bee Spanish Tobacco and the other halfe Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco, the Custome and Impost therof is for Spanish Tobacco ii *s.* per pound and for Virginia xii *d.* per *lb.* at which rates it doth arise unto 22,500 *li.* per annum.

Secondly, it is apparant that the Plantacion in the West Indies is soe greatly increased and the Plantacion of Virginia and Bermudos doth so much augement that the Tobacco wilbee soe abundantly brought in and the prices soe base that the third parte his Majestie is to have will never yeilde so much yearly as the Impost and Custome will come to.

Thirdly, for that it is very honorable for this nation to advaunce the Sale of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco, I doe verely thincke that if his Majestie would bee pleased to restraine the West India or Spanish Tobacco and to cause the Virginia and Bermudos Company to importe all the Tobacco that shalbee laden from thence into the porte of London beeing the cheife porte of this Kingdome the like president beeinge usuall in all foraigne plantacions whereas Spanish Tobacco doth pay ii *s.* per pound unto his Majestie for Custome and Imposte, to take of Virginia and Bermudos tobacco but xviii *d.* per pound it would bee much better for the planter and more proffit unto his Majestie for within one yeare it cannot yeild lesse then 20000 *li.* per annum but is likely to bee much more and the planter will yearly make his Tobacco the better to increase the price.

Lastly, if for some reasons of State³⁰ the Spanish Tobacco maye not bee prohibited then a freedome of Trade wilbee best and most proffit unto his Majestie for the meanest sortes of Spanish Tobacco doth paye unto his Majestie ii *s.* per pound and the Virginia and Bermudos but xii *d.* per pound soe that they are able to undersell the meaner sortes of Spanish Tobacco xii *d.* in a pound and in truth it is found by experience that the Tobacco of Virginia and Bermudos doth vente much better then the meaner sortes of Spanish tobacco, soe that I verely thinck fewe will attempt to bringe meane Tobaccos out of Spaine for that they knowe beforehand that the Virginia and Bermudos is both better and will sell deerer.

[*Endorsed by the Lord Treasurer:*] Reasons wherfore the Sole Importation and imposition upon Tobacco should not be graunted in Farme.

XLVIII. PROPOSALS RESPECTING A MONOPOLY OF SPANISH TOBACCO.³¹

Artycles of agrement betwixt his Majestie and the undertakeres tuchinge the solle Importation of 40 m.³² waight of Spanyshe Tobacco in to his Majestie's dominions of England and Wailes.

²⁹ No. 6160, marked "No. 6" in red ink.

³⁰ *I.e.*, because of King James's *penchant* toward a Spanish alliance.

³¹ No. 6185. If the contract for the sole importation of Spanish tobacco were not accepted by, or entrusted to, the Virginia Company, it might be undertaken by others. "If there was a necessity, that a certayne quantity of forraigne Tobacco must be brought, it was all one to the Plantacions, whether it were in the Companies or others handes." *Records*, II. 343 (Apr. 2, 1623).

³² Forty thousand.

1. Fyrst thatt a proclamation bee graunted from his Majestie thatt in regard of the benefytt and welfare of the plantation of Virgine and Barmodos his Majestie hathe assumed unto hym selfe the sole importation of 40 m. waight of Spanyshe tobacco, apointinge 2 parsons³³ for his agentes for the managinge of the said buysnes forbodinge al others to importte with powre and atorety³⁴ to serche accordinge to the last patentes which was graunted to Sir Thomas Rooe and Company.³⁵

2. Thatt Virgine and Barmodos Tobacco be fyrst sealed with suche a seale as his Majesty shall apointe.

3. Thatt the Spanishe Tobacco continewe sealed with the seale graunted by his Majesty to Sir Thomas Rooe.

4. Thatt all Tobacco which is found unsealed within his Majesties dominions of England and Wailes after suche a tyme be confiscated or loste, thone³⁶ moyety to his Majesty and the other parte to the Seasor or informer.

5. Thatt the Virgine and Barmodos company with his Majestie's agentes of the Sole Importation of Spanyshe Tobacco agre and accorde together towardses the charge of kepinge forthe, and serchinge of all forraigne tobacco which may be browght in be stelthe, theone moyty of the forfeitures of the kinge's partte to be for his Majestie's agentes and the other partte for the Vergine and Barmodos company.

6. Thatt the seales be kept in the custody of the kinge's agentes of the sole importation of Spanyshe Tobacco. Tuchinge the rest of artycles of agrement the undertakeres refere them selffs to the consideration of Majesties larned Counsell in Lawe.

The undertakers will give and pay unto his Majesty for the sole importation of 40 m. waight of Spanishe Tobacco the some of 5000 *l.* per annum for a Patente to continewe for 3 yeares under the great seall of England. And also pay unto the graund Farmers³⁷ 6 *d.* per pound for 40 m. waight of Tobacco.

[*Endorsed:*] Articles touching the sole importacion of 40000 weight of Spanish Tobacco etc.

XLIX. OFFERS FOR THE FARM OF SPANISH TOBACCO.³⁸

Farm of Spanish Tobacco.

J.S. doth humbly offer unto his Majestie for the farme of the Sole Importacion of Spanish Tobacco, and to bee bound to bringe in yearly 40,000 *lb.* waighte and not in any yeare to exceede 60,000 *lb.* waighte As also for the Impost or increase of Subsidy of vi *d.* per pound paid for the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco Imported As alsoe that all the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco bee broughte into this kingdome And to take the same for seaven yeares uppon such Condiciones and as by Councell on each parte shalbee reasonable.

³³ Persons.

³⁴ Authority.

³⁵ See p. 525, note 106, and p. 528, note 115.

³⁶ The one.

³⁷ Of the customs.

³⁸ No. 6170, marked "No. 17" in red ink; partially quoted in Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 166.

In Consideracion wherof the said J.S. will give unto his Majestie 10,000 *li.* per annum vizt. the vi *d.* per pound uppon Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco to bee collected unto his Majestie's use yearly And at the yeare's ende whatsoever the said vi *d.* per pound fauleth shorte of 10,000 *li.* the same to bee made up by the Contractors and to bee paid into his Majestie's receipte within 40 dayes after every yeare's ende, Dureinge the tearme of seaven yeares.

J.S. doth further in all humblenes offer unto his Majestie that if it shall please his Majestie to sett open the Trade of Spanish Tobacco and to injoyne all the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco to bee broughte into this Kingdome and to paye the Impost or increase of subsidy of vi *d.* per pound for Virginia and Bermudos tobacco And the Impost of xviii *d.* per pound for all other sortes of tobacco, And for all such Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco as shalbee shipped out againe and not vented in this Kingdome, to Allowe unto them that imported the said tobacco iii *d.* per pound for all they shall exporte, And to take the same for seaven yeares uppon such condicions as by Councell shalbee agreed one,

In consideracion wherof the said J.S. will give unto his Majestie 10,000 *li.* per annum to bee paid halfe yearly or within 40 dayes after each rente daye.

[*Endorsed.*] Tobacco: 2 severall propositions.

L. PROPOSALS OF SIR NATHANIEL RICH,³⁹

A proposition for advancement of his Majestie's profit and good of the Plantacions of Virginia and the Summer Isles by setting the trade of Tobacco which is the comoditie by which they nowe cheifelye subsist.

First the plantations subsisting as yet by this comoditie of Tobacco it is necessarie that some provision bee made that the sale and vent thereof may bee continewed and that the price may be kept up at some such proportionable Rate as may yeald the adventurers and planters reasonable profit.

And as it is necessarie for the good of the plantacions soe likewise his Majesties profit is carefullie to bee regarded whose casuall Renewew by this comoditie hath binne increased at least eight or ten thousand poundes per Annum and may hereafter bee much more. But if some tymelie provision bee not made both his Majesties Renewew wilbee lost and the plantacions (especiallie that of the Summer Islands) in daunger to be utterlie ruyned. For

I. The quantitie of Tobacco (by reason of the late excessive planting thereof in the West Indies and in the new plantacions of Guyana and Brazill) is like to bee so greate that all theis partes of Christendome wilbee glutted with it, and the price of Tobacco brought soe lowe that in probabilitie it will not bee worth so much a pound as his Majestie hath now for Custome.

³⁹ No. 6178. Sir Nathaniel Rich (1585?–1636), a relative and supporter of Lord Warwick and opponent of Sandys and the Ferrars, was a member of the Virginia, Somers Islands, Providence Island, and East India companies and of the Council for New England, and a patentee of Saybrook. The document is not the same as Miss Kingsbury's no. 411 (*Records*, I. 165), Manchester Papers nos. 312, 313; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, part II., p. 38.

2. The Tobacco of those countries though not in wholesomenes yet in strength, tast and estimacion, doth so farre excell oures of the English plantacions that if in his Majestie's dominions wee cannot find sale for it other tobacco will yeald nothing at all.

Therefore for the setling and advancement both of his Majestie's yearelie Revenewe and the good of the plantacions in Virginia and the Summer Islands (which are amongst others most memorable workes of his Majestie's happie government),

It is propounded etc.

That as the French kinge hath the Gabell of salt in Fraunce and the king of Spaine the sole marchandize both of peppar and even of this particular comoditie of Tobacco in Spaine, soe it would please his most excellent Majestie our soveraigne to take the sole preemption of all the Tobacco of the English plantacions in Virginia and the Summer Isles alloweing the Adventurers and Planters within some convenient tyme after they shall deliver it at the Port of London 2 s. a pound for the worser sorte (so that it be marchantable) 2 s. 6 d. for the midle sorte and 3 s. a pound for the best, cleare of charge, of freight Custome and Impost; This will give full and universall content to the Planters and Adventurers who must needes acknowledge it a worke of great grace and princelie wisdomed in his Majestie so to provide for them that they shalbee in better case then ever they were.

And for secureing his Majestie's yearelie profit it may bee managed thus.

Some able men may bee conferred withall who will become the king's marchants for this comoditie and allowe his Majestie double the proporcion which his Majestie payes for this Tobacco,⁴⁰ so that the quantitie exceede not 400 Thousand wight which is as much as the plantacions wilbee able to afforde, and theis kingdomes of England and Ireland doe usuallie vent. Thus will his Majesties Revenewe by the comoditie bee raised to 40 if not to 50 Thousand poundes per Annum certaine, and his Majestie not one penny out of purse.

And for Incouragement of theis marchauntes it is propounded that they may have the sole power to lycence the retaileing of this comoditie, And so for their owne securitie may agree with a convenient number in everie Cittie Towne and great parish to buy a yearelie proporcion of this Tobacco at such rates as the said marchauntes may bee reasonable Gayners and such quantities as the king's marchants shalbe sure to have the whole comoditie taken from them and dispersed into many handes which is verie feasible for if none may sell or retaile tobacco but such as shalbe lycenced by the kinges marchauntes they will find rather too many then too few that will in this kind deale with them.

And by this proposicion

1. The king's profit wilbee exceedingly increased.
2. His Majestie even in that respect besides his owne gracious disposicion deeplie ingaged in the welfare and prosperitie of those plantacions that alreadie even by one comoditie afford him such a large revenewe.

⁴⁰ "Or," says a note in the margin, "if merchantes will not undertake so great a bargaine then may it be managed by some Commissioners wholly for his Majestie's benefit which will much more increase the King's proffitt."

3. The excessive stealeing in of forreine tobacco into this kingdome wilbee hereby avoided and the charge of strict search for it in the portes saved. For everie retailer will in this case bee an informer because it will hinder both his owne and his fellowes profit. And for their better Incouragement they may have the moyitie of all such tobacco as they shall discover so to be stollen in.

4. It will tend to the generall good of this kingdome by restrayneing the excessive Expence of Bullion which was wont to be layd out in forreine partes for this comoditie to the great diminucion of the Threasure of this kingdome. As also by mantayneing a trade and commerce betweene theis kingdomes and those new acquired countries of Virginia and the Summer Islandes and that without money which is worthie of observacion for wee returne not money but our owne Native Comodities of Cloth, wollen stuffes, Tynne, Leade, Leather etc. for the goodes which wee receive from thence, and if it bee ordered so that the last price of the best Tobacco exceede not ten or eleven shillings as it very well may then doth the subject also buy it at a better rate then ever he hath done heretofore.

5. Lastlie the Propounder of this Course prayes it may be considered that hee onelie aymes herein at publique good as may appeare by all the reasons alledged professing that he sees no wrong or inconvenience that can happen to anie man hereby but conceives that this being a superfluous weede and fit to be regulated, all discreete and indifferent men wilbe so farre from excepting against it as they will rather thinke it a matter of great grace and prudence in his Majestie to prevent the former mischeife and thus to order a superfluitie to so good, just, honorable and publique endes.

[*Endorsed in the hand of the Lord Treasurer:*] Sir Nathaniell Rich, Virginia and Burmootheres.

LI. ARGUMENT AGAINST THE CONTRACT, [MARCH 20, 1623].⁴¹

Sundry reasons against the Contract and Joynt stocke of the Virginia and Summer Islandes Tobacco.

1. The Contract besides Custome and Charges is to yeald his Majestie one third part of the goodes in kind, which third part (by reason the condition of this yeares Tobacco falles out to bee meane and litle worth) will disappoint his Majestie in point of profit And the other two thirdes being of like bad condition (all Charges deducted) there wilbee litle or nothing remayneing for the Adventurers and Planters.

2. The great quantitie and meane condicion of the Virginia and Summer Ilands Tobacco is such as for the most part it must bee exported at easie rates into Turkie Barbarie and other forreine partes which by the charge of this Contract is impossible without great damage and losse to the owners.

⁴¹ No. 6163, marked "No. 9" in red ink. It is an additional copy of the document in the Public Record Office (C. O. 1: 3, no. 10) which figures as no. 424 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 165) and bears date of Mar. 20, 1623. Mr. Sainsbury, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 59, wrongly gave this P. R. O. document the date Mar. 20, 1624. There is a transcript of it in the New York Public Library, Bancroft Papers, II. 413-429.

3. The heaieve charge laid upon Tobacco by this contract will occasion the transportacion thereof from the Plantacions into forreine partes and not into England whereby his Majestie wilbe a great looser and the Companie much damnified, nay it is to bee feared that the people in the Summer Islands will grow altogether idle haveing nothing else to raise profit by, and then povertie and want may drive them to revolte and so his Majestie loose the strongest knowne forte in the Christian world tending both to the safetie of this kingdome, and acquisition of that other of Virginia to the which it serves in stead of an impregnable fort.

4. No such contract as this can bee made but by the joynt consent of all the Adventurers and Planters whereof not one of ten have given their consent and manie of those that consented conceived themselves inforct unto it, but being since better acquainted with his Majesties most free and gracious intencion do now humblie declare their disassent thereunto conceiving that this Contract cannot be proceeded in without extreame Injustice and forfeiture of our Charters by which wee are to governe our affaires according to the lawes of England that doe not allowe the good subject to bee dispossessed of his goodes without his consent, And wee doe humblie pray that the act of a few and such as are least interested in point of charge, and therefore doe not feelee the waight of the burthen which they lay upon other men may not prejudice the whole companie.

5. The rate for exporteing of people to the plantacion was wont to bee five or sixe pound a head to bee paid in Tobacco but by this contract the rate will growe to be 10 or 12 *l.* at least, The Owners forecasting that the Tobacco which they shall take for freight of the passengers wilbee more then twice dearer unto them then in former times, and so by that meanes will extreamelie hinder the peopling of the Plantacions when passengers cannot but at such extreame rates bee transported thither.

6. The sole importacion of Spanish Tobacco is a part and cheife consideration of this contract by which importacion not the Companies but private men that make the stocke⁴² shall receive the benifit, and therefore noe cause why in that respect the goodes of the Adventurers and planters should be charged by this contract.

7. It is a thing of great daunger and hazard for particuler men's estates to bee ingaged to his Majestie by the seales of the companie for the performance of so great a contract which may breed question and lie as a perpetuall charge and Incumbrance upon the persons goodes and landes of them and their heires that are free of these companies, yea although they never received one penny benifit by their freedome.

8. A single planter doth raise at the most but 30 pound wight of tobacco in the Summer Islandes in one yeare for his owne part, whereof one third by the contract is to goe to his Majestie, another third in ordinary charges besides sallary, and so restes scarce ten pound wight to the poore labourer, not worth in all above 1 *l.* 5 *s.* for his whole yeares paynes, and even out of this 25 *s.* being the labour of a whole yeare hee is by the contract to allow double salarie⁴³ which may take away all the

⁴² *I.e.*, subscribe to the joint stock for the purpose. If the company had received the contract, it would have created a subordinate organization or joint stock to manage the importations of Spanish tobacco, and another for the Virginian and Bermudan.

⁴³ The salaries voted by the companies, for management under the contract (*Records*, II. 150-152, Nov. 27, 1622), were thereafter a constant subject of complaint on the part of the dissatisfied minority.

rest, and leave him nothing at all; And the Adventurers are in the same case, soe as appareantlie the plantacion wilbee overthrowne if this Contract doe proceed.

Neither will the monopolizeing of Tobacco into one hand anie waies better this bargaine but rather make it worse for

1. If by that meanes they suppose to raise the price and to sell it dearer that wilbe the next way to cause such an ymportation by stealth (as was seene in pepper when the like course was taken)⁴⁴ as that our Tobacco will lie unvented till it rott and perish, and the charge of keeping the portes to prevent it wilbee in likelihood more then the goodes are worth.

2. It were a dangerous president and never heard of that plurality of voyces should conclude the goodes of other men without their consent to bee put into a Joynt stocke at the comeing home of the shipp whereas the Adventure outward was by particuler men not in Joynt stocke, which if it shalbe admitted to take place wilbe the utter ruine and destruction of all trade and commerce.

3. It occasions a strange charge of a yearelie stipend or salarie to Officers to mannage this Joynt stocke which the Companies are not able to beare and yet by votes of such as are least interested and of those men themselves who are to receive it was caried by pluralitie of voyces.

4. By this meanes his Majestie wilbee charged with 8 or 900 *li.* per annum certaine for his third part of this salarie⁴⁵ and how much more we know not so that perhaps his Majestie's charge wilbee more then his whole third part of this meane Tobacco will come unto.

5. It hinders the poore people from trucking away their Tobacco for comodities by which heretofore they have releived themselves and made a greater benifit then ever they could doe by selling for in readie money.

6. It bereaves both Planters and Owners of present meanes to supplie their shares seeing they must attend the sale and accompt of the Joynt stocke.

7. It subjectes them to great hazard by ill debtes.

8. It involves them in intricate accomptes and is like to occasion infinite suites and contencions and will breede much confusion in the sale of their goodes, for in this comoditie one man's parcell of Tobacco is much better then another and either it must be sold with theires of lesse value and soe a losse to the owner and generall discouragement to make their tobacco good or else if everie man's bee kept apart wee must rest upon the goodwill of the Agentes when this or that man's parcell shalbee sold.

9. The experience of the losses and inconveniences which have growne by all other joynt stockes is sufficient to deterre men from this course, and we hope his Majestie will not permitt that anie man shall be forced to it whether he will or noe.

Wee conceive this busines wilbee better mannaged if it will please his Majestie to limit the importacion of Spanish Tobacco to a reasonable proporcion as alreadie he hath done and to graunt the farme thereof to whom his Majestie shall please for his owne best benifit, and then (reserveing onelie that proportion of Spanish Tobacco) to inhibite the im-

⁴⁴ In 1609 a monopoly of the importation of pepper was granted to the East India Company. W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, I. 140, quoting the court records of the company.

⁴⁵ The proposed salaries amounted in the aggregate to £2500.

portacion of all other save that which shalbee brought in from theis plantations and that everie Adventurer and Planter may receive and dispose of his owne goodes for his best advantage. And wee shall humbly submit ourselves to his Majestie's gracious pleasure for such a custome to bee layd upon other goodes as may incourage all the Planters and Owners to import all the Tobacco that shalbee made both in Virginia and the Summer Isles into this Realme of England and not otherwise; which as it would increase and advance the plantacions, so the quantities that wilbee brought in wilbee soe greate that wee conceive his Majesties yearelie profit wilbee much greater this way then the other how specious so ever, and it is hoped it will prosper much better because it wilbee accompanied with the willing and heartie affections of those that pay it.

And wee humbly pray that in the layeing on of this custome his Majestie will have a speciall regard to ease the Tobacco of the Summer Isles.

1. Because it is a place of great importance and therefore very behoovefull to give that colony content and to provide for their supplies.

2. This poore plantacion hath had no helpes of Lotteries, Collections and other assistances as that of Virginia hath had.

3. Because the tobacco of the Summer Isles generallie is of a meaner sorte then that of Virginia and this yeare so bad that it is lileworth.

4. By his Majesties letters patentes they are to pay but 5 l. per C. for all charges whatsoever.⁴⁶

5. Because it is rather a forte then a country able to produce staple comodities as that of Virginia and so hath no other meanes but by this poore weede to subsist.

6. Because those of the Summer Isles company that are to beare the burthen of this charge are very few and noe meanes to maintaine their publike charge of those Isles but out of their purses which everie yeare costes them manie Thousand poundes; and yet they are comforted with the assurance of his Majestie's gracious respect for their good service in acquireing and mantayneing a place of soe great consequence without anie charge to his Majestie though to the great prejudice and undoeing of some of their owne particuler fortunes unlesse his Majestie take a speciall regard of them there being twentie of them that at least are out of their purses Twentie thousand poundes in this plantacion.

[Endorsed:] Reasons against the contract.

LII. ARGUMENT AGAINST THE COMPANY'S ARRANGEMENTS.⁴⁷

Propositions considerable⁴⁸ for the equall managinge of the Contract with his Majestie concerninge the sole importacion of Tobacco graunted to the twoe Companies of Virginia and the Sumer Isles.

⁴⁶ The patent of 1615 for the Somers Islands Company (text in Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 93) exempted the patentees from all payment of customs except, after seven years, five per cent. on goods imported into or exported out of England, and, after 21 years, on other goods.

⁴⁷ No. 6190.

⁴⁸ I.e., deserving to be considered.

1. First that the agentes whoe undertake the mannageinge of this busines and are to be payd for their labour, doe give good securitye to free the companyes and the goodes of every particuler adventurer from that Covenant with his Majestie for bringinge in of 80,000 weight of Varinus tobaccoe in three yeares inasmuch as not the companyes but themselves that underwright the Spanish stocke shall have the benefit thereof.

2. What satisfaction they will give to the Virginia Planters or to our Sumer Islandes Tenantes for their Tobaccoe, which they shall send or bringe hither for price and payment.

3. What ordinary rate they will impose upon the Sumer Islandes Tobaccoe for defrayinge the 25 C. li.⁴⁹ salery and what rate in such accidentall cases as may fall out namely if noe Spanish tobacco (or but little) shall be brought in, or that the greatest part of Virginia shall be directed to other partes, or in case the Sumer Islandes tobacco when it cometh shall be all sould together, or the kinge's parte only, by the candle⁵⁰ without anie charge or labour of theirs.

4. What order they will take to free the Adventurers of disbursments for custome freight and publique charges before they take our goodes unto their possession.

5. What securitie they will give to performe the promisses and to give a just accompt of the sales and of the proceed thereof to his Majestie and to thadventurers, and when to make payment.

6. For that the contracte is but conditionally agreed upon in Courte to contynue if the proclamacion shall be published by Midsomer next,⁵¹ whoe shall (when the contracte fayleth) defray the great Rent of 160 l. per annum for the directors great house intended to be taken⁵² and the greate saleryes, howe and in what proporcion and howe shall his Majestie then have his due and every man his owne proper goodes delivered backe againe.

7. To expayne themselves whether out of 25 C. l. salery (whereof they say his Majestie is to pay a third parte) they meane to defray all charges or whether they intend to put to accompt over and above the Charges of Porters, Carrmen, Coopers, Wharfage Waiters, Searchers, suites of lawe, shrinckinge in weight, desperate debtes and such like.

8. As the greate quantitie and meane condicion of the Virginia and Sumer Islandes tobacco is not fittinge for the vent and expence of this kingdome, but for the most at easy rates must be exported, soe the greate enhancement of price by thirds taken out and excessive charges put upon will make it altogether impossible to be exported and therefore to be considred howe to cleare this difficulty soe that profit may come to thadventurers and Planters.

9. The sallery men⁵³ for the most parte to be excepted against some of them for want of skill, some want of estate, some of them noe way in-

⁴⁹ £2500.

⁵⁰ By "auction by inch of candle", wherein a bit of candle was lighted, and the goods went to him who made the highest bid before the wick fell.

⁵¹ Rather, June 20; see notes 14 and 15, above. Midsummer was June 24.

⁵² Nov. 27, 1622, £180 was voted for a house and warehouses. *Records*, II. 151, 153.

⁵³ The officers and committeemen chosen on the same occasion. *Ibid.*, II. 154, 155.

teressed, and other continually maynteyninge and raysinge quarrells and bitter contencions against sundry good Adventurers whose goodes must come to their handes and possession to be disposed, Against which sundry of the Adventurers doe protest asto men unfitt to mannage theis affayres. [Endorsed:] The busines of Tobacco with the Virginia and Somer Ilandes companie.

LIII. REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.⁵⁴

An Aunswere to the Propositions exhibited to the Right Hon'ble the Lord High Treasurer of England for the equall menaginge of the Contract with his Majestie concerninge the sole Importation of Tobacco etc.

It is first to be observed, that the Contract hath beene ratified by Six Quarter Courts; vizt. three of each Companie:⁵⁵ noe one man at the question declaring his dissent, save onely the Deputy, and that in the first Court onely.

It is also to be observed that the Raysers of troubles in the Courts namely Mr. Wrote⁵⁶ and his abettors, though their pretences have beene agaynst the Sallaries and the mannor of Importacion of Spanish Tobacco: yet in the heate of their oposicions, their speeches and reasons have allwayes reflected upon the body of the Contract itselfe, which being contrary to all order hath much disfasted the Companies.

And it is nowe to be observed that these Propounders though their pretence in their wrighting be for the equall menaginge of the Contract, And although they have often in the courts very solemnly protested and vowed, that they were not against the Contract itselfe, yet when they came before the Lord Treasurer, they dismasked themselves, and unanimously professed that they were against the very body of the contract: which sheweth, that these Articles can be noe other then Cavills, seeing their pretence is one way, and their intent another way.

And before wee come to the answering of the perticuler Articles, wee are inforced to take excepcions unto the manner of propounding them. For it is necessarie to be knowne, that the Counsell, Comittees and Companies having first concluded on the Offices necessarie for the menaging of this Contract, as also of their rewardes by way of Sallarie (according to the fift Article of the Contract): The Officers themselves were lastly chosen in both the Courts:⁵⁷ and the burthen was imposed upon the chiefe of them, in a free and unanimous eleccion, contrary to their most earnest and often iterated desires.

It is also further to be knowne, that by reason of these troubles, both the chiefe Officers and divers of the Comittees having voluntarily surrendred their places, and greatly importuned the Courts, to accept of their Surrenders; yet the same have beene refused, and they continued in their offices, much contrary to their wills, and most earnest suits,⁵⁸

⁵⁴ No. 6167, marked "No. 13" in red ink. A reply to no. LII., of date previous to April, 1622.

⁵⁵ The Virginia Company's meetings of July 3 and Nov. 27, 1622, and Feb. 12, 1623 (*Records*, II. 85, 148, 266); the Somers Islands Company's meetings of July 10, Nov. 27, and Feb. 12 (*ibid.*, II. 97, 157, 273).

⁵⁶ Samuel Wrote, cousin german to Middlesex; see the *Records*, II., *passim*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 155.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 223, 273.

whereas contrariwise these Articles are propounded in that manner, as though the Officers had bin ambitious of this employment, and consequently were to undertake it with all indignities. Then which nothing can be more untrue and unjust.

1. To the first Article it is answered, that the matter therein conteyned is allready regulated in the Quarter Courts of bothe the Companies. And that the Officers or Agents of the companies have noe more to doe in the bringing in of the Varinaes Tobacco, then any other perticuler member that liste to adventure his stock therein: By which order of the said Quarter Courts, it is declared that the perticuler Adventurers for the said Varinaes Tobacco are to bring in the proporcion expressed by the Contract: the Bodies of the Companies bearing a tenth part with them.⁵⁹ But in case of any misfortune by losse of their Tobacco without the default of the said Adventurers, they are not to be farther charged also with restitution or recompence: but the same is to rest upon the whole body of the Companies, and consequently to be answered out of the Companies publique Stocks: and if these should not suffice, then out of the Stocks of the Generall Adventurers returned from the Plantations, as heretofore in like cases had beene usually done.

2. In the second Article, the Question is likewise resolved by bothe the Quarter Courts; vizt. that generally the Adventurers and Planters, both for price and payment, are to goe in equall lines: Neither of which are to be ordered or concluded by the officers, but by the Generall Courts themselves; the matter being first seriously debated and prepared by the Comittees. And in favour of the poorer sorte of Planters, there have beene divers other wayes devised and resolved upon, by the generall consent of bothe the Courts; both for the advancing of their prices, and expediting of their payments.

3. To the third Article it is answered, that it is grounded wholly upon errors. An error it is, to conceive that the rating of charges, is in the power of the Officers: being reserved (as all other important matters) to the Generall Courts. An error it is, to thinke, that the labour of the Officers, consisteth wholly or chiefly in the matter of Sale: the well menaging of the Contract extending itselfe in the difficulties thereof to a much larger Compasse. And lastly it is an error and misinformation, to say that the Salaries amount unto five and twenty hundred poundes: whereas they come but to Seaventeene hundred poundes.⁶⁰ But to the matter itselfe of this article, the answere is not difficult. For the charges to be imposed wilbe lighter or heavier according to the proporcion greater or lesser of Tobacco to be brought in, and that with this comfort both to Adventurers and Planters that the greatnes of the quantity will diminishe the perticuler charge; and the smallnes of the quantity will enhance the generall price.

But whereas there is mencion made of the selling the Tobacco together, it is to be observed that the course thereof lately propounded, by these Objectors, is subject to Fraude and much wrong both to the Kinge and Companies: vizt. that certaine Undertakers, being members of the Companies, should raise a greate Stock in money, to buy of all the Tobacco by way of whole Sale. For considering the courts in the vacations are often times very thinne, and the Somer Ilandes Court by the

⁵⁹ *Records*, II. 156, 163.

⁶⁰ After deduction of the king's third.

Letters Patents may consiste of Eighte persons onely:⁶¹ these Undertakers may easily attayne to be the greater parte of the Courts, and consequently may be both Buyers and Sellers at the same time. A feare not causeles, but grounded on former experience; whereby some of these Objectors have made themselves rich, by the great losse and detriment of the Adventurers and Companies.

To the 4th Article the answeare is, that the Court have already ordered that the Custome and freight shalbe discharged by the Officers, who are to be secured from damage by the goodes in their custody.

5. To the 5 article it is likewise answered that the Courts with Generall consent (onely one dissenting) have taken full order for security both of goodes and money: which orders have beene read before the Lord Treasurer, and wee suppose they are more exquisite for caution on all sides, then are used in anie other Company whatsoever, as at the making of them was openly acknowledged.⁶² The perticularities whereof are to long to be here sett downe: but are ready to be shewen to any that shall desire to see them. Whereunto wee may add a strict oath, which is to be administred to all the Officers of what degree soever, for just and equall dealing, both in keeping, preserving, selling and accompting for the goodes; as also in making the paymnts at such time as they shall growe due wherein the Officers also from time to time are to be directed by the Courts.

6. To the Sixte Article, it is answered, that by vertue of the Contract, the Proclamation mencioned was presently to come forth. But upon mocion from the Lord Treasurer, the Companies have consented, that it may be forborne till the Twentieth of June: at which time the Lord Treasurer hath promised that it shalbe published. Of the performance of whose promise, though the Propounder here seeme to make soe great doubt; yet the Companies will make none at all: and therefore hold it unfitt to follow the Propounders stepps any further; in which it seemeth that jealousy hath outrun their duety.

7. To the Seaventh it is answered that the Officers are to be comptable for all charges, if five and twenty hundreth poundes will serve, the remayne is to be restored. If more be necessary, that which wants must agayne be leavied. That the Officers out of their owne estates, should beare those uncertaine burthens, of desperate debts, suits in lawe, shrinkage and the like, is soe farr not onely from Equitie, but from all ordinarie reason, that they hope the Propounders themselves upon better consideracion will retract the Question.

8. To the Eighte Article it is answered, that the case of meane Tobacco is much more difficult without this Contract, then with or under it. For the Twelve pence on the pound amounted to much more then the vallue of one entire halfe, not onely of the meaner, but also of the middle sort thereof as experience hath shewed.

9. To the Ninth Article, which layeth aspersions on the Officers' persons, the Answeare is plaine. The two chiefe Officers were chosen by the Ballating box with 65 votes for them, and not above five against

⁶¹ Seven; patent, Lefroy, I. 89. But this was true of the ordinary courts only, not of the quarterly courts.

⁶² See *Records*, II. 284-288.

them.⁶³ The Eighte Committees⁶⁴ were chosen by erection of handes out of the number of Sixteene, named by the Courts to stand for the places: In which number of Sixteene, were divers of these objectors. The Companies made choise of them whome by experience they knewe to love the Plantations, and were fitt for the diversity of imployments incident to this busines: some of them being Merchantes, some Retaylors, some skilfull in the Portes, and others such as by long continuance and attendance in the Courtes, were skilfull in the affaires of the Companies and Plantacions and withall large Adventurers. Of which Eighte, six have beene yearely chosen Comittees and Assistants for these Three yeares last past; neither any just excepcion can be taken to any of them by mindes unpossessed with partiallity or mallice, neither are the companies to be blamed in this or other their eleccions, if they have rather made choise to entrust their Goodes in the hands of men untainted for integritie and honesty, then in theires, whose wisdom hath beene for their owne perticular benefitt, who in their former menagements of Tobacco have reduced Seaven thowsand poundes sterling to Fower thowsand poundes,⁶⁵ and who never yet gave up any faire account of the Companie's goodes.

[*Endorsed:*] Aunswere to certen Propositions exhibited to the Lord Treasurer concerning the Contract.

LIV. DRAFT OF LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT FOR THE COLLECTION OF DUTIES,
MARCH 25, 1623.⁶⁶

After my harty comandacions, Wheras I understand there is a ship lately aryved within the porte of London from the Bermudos or Somer-Ilands wherof for the most parte hir ladeinge is Tobacco, and for that I have binn informed that you have made stay of passage the Tobacco in regard of the pretence of a contracte with the Company of Bermudos and Virginia for the Importacion of Tobacco, beinge intended upon his Majestie's parte for the benefitt and good of the said companies, which *uppon debate of the Councell Boarde* beinge ther amply argued and heard before the Lordes of his Majesties Privie Counsell is conceived to bee rather prejudittiall unto the Companies if the said contracte should goe forward, in consideracion wherof his Majestie is graciously pleased that you suffer the said tobacco to bee delivered unto the severall proprietors therof they payinge unto his Majestie's farmers of the customes

⁶³ On Nov. 27, 1622, Sandys was chosen director of operations under the contract, by 65 ballots against 5, John Ferrar treasurer and deputy director, by 68 votes against 2. *Records*, II. 154.

⁶⁴ In modern language, committeemen.

⁶⁵ See *Records*, II. 315.

⁶⁶ No. 6165, marked "No. 11" in red ink. The portions printed in italics are interlineations in the handwriting of the Lord Treasurer. Another copy or draft is no. 426 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 166), dated Mar. 27; Manchester Papers, no. 293, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, pt. II., p. 37. In either case the document gives an early date to the determination of the Privy Council to abandon the contract, their first positive decree to that effect being apparently of Apr. 28; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. For the company's view of the final proceedings about the contract, see "The Discourse of the Old Company", in L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, pp. 448-450.

three pence per pound for the subsidy which the said farmers are contented to accepte of *without demandinge any defalcation from the King*, And it is resolved by the Lordes of the Councell and so promised by many of the Company both of Virginia and Bermuthos that they will hence forward [bring] all the Tobacco exported from Virginia and Bermudos into his Majesties dominions, And for the impost or increase of subsidy you receive unto his Majestie's use for all the said Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco belonging unto any Planter or free brother of the said companyes sixe pence per pound *redy monye* beeing the rate formerly agreed on, And for all such Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco which shall not belonge unto any Planter or free brother of the said Companyes the usuall impost of eighteen pence per pound *redy* [money] due uppon Tobacco as hath bine formerly used. And this shalbe a sufficient Warrant unto you *for the present untill further order shalbe given* for the same. Chelsey this 25th. of March 1623.

Your very loving freind

To my very loving friendes the officers and farmers of his Majesties customes and to Abraham Jacob and Jo. Jacob⁶⁷ Collectors of the impost and increase of subsidye uppon tobacco.

[Endorsed:] Warrant for to receive iii d. per pound for the subsidy of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco and vi d. per pound for the impost or increase of subsidy of the same Tobaccoe.

LV. SUGGESTIONS FOR LETTERS TO THE COLONISTS, [APRIL 21, 1623].⁶⁸

A memoriall of some things which it may please the lords to insert in their lordships' letters to Virginia and the Summer Isles.

1. That the late contract is upon full heareing before their lordships dissolved as that which was verie prejudiciall to the plantations, a coppie of which contract together with the reasons that were in writeinge delivered against it, it may please their lordships to send them.

2. That his Majestie out of his princelie care of their good is content that no tobacco shalbee brought into England or Ireland but such as shalbee imported from the plantacions in Virginia and the Summer Isles except onelie fourtie Thousand weight yearelie of Spanish Tobacco (and that but for a time) if they will give for it as others will.

3. That to this greate and extraordinarie favour his Majestie requires

⁶⁷ For Abraham and John Jacob, see pp. 522-524, 528, and notes 99, 102, 115. "Here Sir Edward [Coke] observed, that [Abraham] Jacob was my Lord's necessary Creature and petty chapman, and had a Son that was his Secretary; and because he was a Jacob, that is, a Supplanter, he desired their Lordships to take good care of him." *Old Parl. Hist.*, VI. 144.

⁶⁸ No. 6177. Another copy is no. 471 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 171), bearing the date Apr. 21, 1623, and the endorsement, in the handwriting of Sir Nathaniel Rich, "deliv. by me to the L. Treas." Manchester Papers, no. 335, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, part II., p. 41. In a meeting of the company on Apr. 17, Lord Cavendish reports orders of the Privy Council to prepare such letters; both companies prepared them, Apr. 18, but the lords did not approve of their drafts. *Records*, II. 365, 368; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. A letter sent May 2 is in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 391-394.

that all the tobacco which shalbee exported from the said plantations shalbee brought into England, a thing which they themselves have seemed heretofore to desire, and will now bee most beneficiall unto them in regard that all forreyne marketes wilbee glutted with excessive quantities of Tobacco liklie to bee brought from the new plantacions in Brazille, Guyana and other places which is of a farre better sort then that which comes from the English colonies and yet wilbee afforded at lesse then halfe the price that the English Tobacco hath heretofore binne usuallie sold for, so that unles his Majestie in his greate grace and wisdom should provide for the venting of this their comoditie within his owne dominions they should not bee able to make anie thing at all of it in anie other place, and therefore to advise them to call a generall Assemblie and by comon consent to cause an Act to be made to that purpose.⁶⁹

4. That his Majesties great grace did not stay here but that even beyond hope and expectacion his Majestie is pleased to be so farre from laying a greater burthen upon them in regard of this his princelie graunt unto theis companies, that hee hath voluntarilie condescended to abate 3 *d.* of the 12 *d.* for Custome and Impost which they payd heretofore: So that in Summ, his Majestie grauntes the sole importacion, and instead of a retribution for it, is content to suffer a diminucion of what was formerlie payed.

5. That this his Majestie's singuler favour is yet enlarged for that, whereas hee hath heard of manie greevances and Inconveniencies which have hindred the growth of theis Plantacions hee hath appointed choise and able Commissioners to examyne and inquire particulerlie into them,⁷⁰ to thend that all hindrances of this worthie worke being removed it might hereafter thrive and prosper.

6. To which the Collonies are to bee admonished to afford their utmost indevours by leaveing the immoderate plantinge of Tobacco and applying themselves to more staple commodities and in particuler to recomend unto them the care of nourishinge and increasing their silke-wormes.

7. That they bee carefull to choose the most comodious places of abode for health and safetie and that they plant themselves soe as they may afford mutuall helpe and strength each to other both against intestine and forraigne enimies.

8. And that his Majestie may bee the more throughlie informed what is the true estate of the plantacions at this present therefore to require them upon their dutie and allegiance by the first shipp to retourne (together with their answere to this letter) a perfect Catalogue of the names of all the Englishmen women and children resideinge in the country the age, condition, imployment and places of abode of everie of them, as also what houses or townes are at this tyme remayneinge, what Ordnance are mounted at the tyme of this shipp's arrivall, what publike workes, (as Churches, Guest-houses, Bridges, forks, or the like) are now remayneinge or have binne heretofore erected, and now demolished, Also what number of English cattle there are which at their pleasure they may have use of, and what otherwise: Also what store of corne and other

⁶⁹ The act, if passed, seems not to be extant.

⁷⁰ The commission resolved upon by the Privy Council on Apr. 17, 1623, and issued that day. *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 58-60; Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 289-290; *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 44.

victuall the Collonies in Virginia are furnished with, and what is the price for which the said catle, corne and other provisions are usuallie sold for and especiallie of late since the last massacre, What number of persons may (this or the next yeare) be convenientlie sent from hence to supplie the colonies and entertaigned there with convenient lodgeing [and] dyet upon their arrivall for some reasonable time, till they may build and plant for themselves; and generallie as they will answere to God and the Kinges most excellent majestie both of theis and all other particulers tending to a true description of the state and condition of the said plantacions faithfullie to informe their lordships that accordinglie they may advise them for their future safetie and prosperitie which is the onelie thing intended by his Majestie and their Lordships to whom if upon this Intimation they shall not declare the whole truth fullie and reallie all partialitie and affection whatsoever set aside they must expect a just punnishment of so high an offence and themselves shalbe judged as causes of all ensueing mischeifes.

9. Lastlie to admonish them to persist and increase in the true and frequent worshipp of Almighty God, in love and unitie amongst themselves and in couragious and industrious performance of their particular Employmentes.

LVI. ATTORNEY GENERAL COVENTRY TO MIDDLESEX, JULY 31, 1623.⁷¹

May it please your lordshipp

Mr. Sollicitor⁷² and myself having agreed on a certificate concerning the busines of Verginia I have as you appoynted me sent it to your lordshipp that your lordshipp may att such conveniency as may best sewt with his Majestie's service cause it to be presented to his Majestie, And so I humblie rest

Att your lordshipp's comandement

THOMAS COVENTRYE.

INNER TEMPLE

31 July, 1623.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Mr. Attorney to my lord touching the Certificate for the Virginia Governement.

[*Addressed:*] To the Right Honble. my very good lord the lord highe Treasurer of England.

⁷¹ No. 6198, holograph. Sir Thomas Coventry (1578-1640), attorney general 1621-1625, lord keeper 1625-1640. The letter which this covers, no. 551 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 180), is printed in Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 547-549, with a new-style date.

⁷² Sir Robert Heath, solicitor general 1621-1625.

Addendum. An addition should have been made to note 70, under document XV., on p. 511, pointing out, on the evidence of that document, that its author, Capt. John Bargrave, must also have been the author of the plan for the government of Virginia, 1623, which we printed in April, 1914, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 559-578.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

International Relations. By JAMES BRYCE, Viscount BRYCE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 275. \$2.50.)

To the many, who, last summer, had the opportunity to hear at Williamstown the presentation of Lord Bryce's matured thoughts on international relations, this book will be most welcome. To those who did not have this opportunity, at the first meeting of the Institute of Politics, the book will show the serious character of one of the marked contributions to the success of the first session of this American experiment in bringing to the public a larger view of international affairs.

The dedication of the work bears date of December 22, 1921, and is to Secretary Hughes. He joined with the other delegates to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, January 23, 1922, when they paused in their labors to pay unusual tribute to the memory of Lord Bryce, who died in England on January 22.

Lord Bryce aims to supply in this book material to answer in the light of history two important questions: "Why is it that before the clouds of the Great War have vanished from the sky new clouds are rising over the horizon? What can be done to avert the dangers that are threatening the peace of mankind?"

The first lecture gives a sweeping view of relations between ethnic and other unities from early times to the outbreak of the World War, dividing these relations into five periods: (1) general war, (2) peace of Rome, (3) monotheistic religions, (4) Rome and Emperor, (5) balance and competition of power. In this lecture he does not accept the theory that the "great man is the product of the age", but rather that "the man who gives effect to the tendencies may make all the difference, and the coming of the man is unpredictable". "Had there been Bismarcks and Cavour and Mazzinis since A.D. 1900, we should have seen a very different Europe today."

In other chapters Lord Bryce traces the causes of the Great War of 1914 to conditions in Germany of the time of Charles V., and calls particular attention to the enduring influence of Martin Luther. He states that the problems left after the War "will tax all the wisdom and self-control of the Old World Powers", and adds "I doubt whether it can be done without the help of the New World".

While Lord Bryce sees in commerce and industry factors making for world peace as well as for conflict, he hopes that the peace influence will dominate as the dynastic motive loses weight in international negotia-

tions. He shows how the modern press, a relatively new factor in international relations, has tended generally to be chauvinistic, but maintains that in diplomacy thought must be had for the remote day, hidden from the journalist and party politician, if statesmanship is to prevail and the reign of law is to be maintained in the world. He enumerates as the chief causes of war: (1) lust for territory, (2) religion, (3) protection of rights of nationals, (4) commerce and trade, (5) protection of the weak, (6) fear.

With the increasing participation of the people in affairs, Lord Bryce is of the opinion that there must be a greater degree of publicity of the facts in regard to international relations, and that these facts should be furnished from official sources in order that partizan and sensational misrepresentation may not mislead. He is, nevertheless, convinced that certain negotiations may still best be carried on in private conference.

Arbitration and conciliation are given a high place by Lord Bryce among the methods of possible settlement of disputes among states. Of the League of Nations plan he says, "Imperfect it may be, but it is the only plan which has yet been launched with any prospect of success".

Out of his ripe experience, and with the warmest regard for Americans and American institutions, Lord Bryce declares in his closing address,

Such as the citizens are, such will the leaders be, because they desire to please the citizens. If the citizens are swayed by impulses of vanity and ambition, their leaders will try to win support by playing up or playing down to such passions. If, on the other hand, the citizens demand from those who guide the State uprightness and fair dealing and a considerate respect for the rights of others, and if they reprobate and dismiss any statesman who falls below the moral standard they set up, their leaders will try to conform to that standard. . . . What all the nations now need is a public opinion which shall in every nation give more constant thought and keener attention to international policy, and lift it to a higher plane.

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

The Mind in the Making: the Relation of Intelligence to Social Reform. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1921. Pp. 235. \$2.50.)

DEEPLY impressed by the evils of the present social order, impatient with all who blindly accept it, and disappointed in the efforts at reform by changing the administration, spiritual exhortation, and education as commonly pursued, the author of this book finds hope and remedy in the freedom of intelligence. By this he means not reverie, nor the rationalizing of motives derived from habit and tradition, but creative thinking like that which produced our modern science and invention. But this required its founders to "discard practically all the consecrated notions of the world and its workings which had been held by the best

and wisest and purest of mankind down to three hundred years ago". What is now needed is similar intelligence applied to the study of man in his social relations. For while our knowledge and control of the physical world has achieved such notable triumphs, "our scientific knowledge and regulation of human affairs has remained almost stationary for over two thousand years".

Violent prejudices in current beliefs and habits of thinking oppose this application. The author aims to trace these obstacles historically to their source, to perform, so to say, a kind of Freudian analysis on the human mind at large. At the same time he points out the way advances have hitherto been made. Accordingly the major part of the book is taken up with discussions of our animal and savage ancestry; the beginning of critical thinking in Greece, whose supreme contribution to human thought was scepticism; the influence of Plato and Aristotle; the origin of medieval civilization and our intellectual inheritance from that; finally, the scientific revolution and its effects. The main lessons to be learned from this survey are apparently, first, that our current social beliefs and attitudes are rooted in our past and maintained solely on this account, and, secondly, that progress in any direction has always been conditioned on breaking with the past and boldly pushing out into new paths. The book concludes with two chapters of which the one treats of the sickness of an acquisitive society with some recent instances, as the author holds them to be, of reaction (the Lusk Committee, etc.), while the other contains reflections on the philosophy of repression. The author proposes no specific reforms; his object is the more fundamental one of breaking our "shackles", changing our attitude to the problems.

But it is only in part that he essays the rôle of a Francis Bacon of the social sciences, for he suggests no new organon, no method of attacking the problems which is not being already applied, but contents himself in this regard with attacking the *idola* of established social and ethical tradition. No one surely will dispute the need of free, critical, and constructive thinking on social problems. But this is too vaguely general, and it is at least doubtful whether the mere appeal to intelligence is likely to be more effective in creating a new world order than the preaching of brotherly love which the author finds so disappointing. Moreover a bias strongly radical is as unfavorable to an impartial survey of the facts as one strongly conservative. A frequent comment suggested to the reviewer has been, adapting the words of Job, No doubt but ye are the people and wisdom was born with you. The book is full, as it seems to him, of crudities and exaggerations. When, for example, it is asserted (p. 11) that no publisher would accept a historical text-book based on an explicit statement of our present knowledge of man's animal ancestry, it is hard to believe that we are dealing with a statement of fact and not rather with an opinion expressing a prejudiced animus—the

same which declares that the American publishers adopted the short title, *The Acquisitive Society*, for Tawney's well-known book instead of the longer title of the article in the *Hibbert Journal* because they "evidently [*sic!*] thought it inexpedient to stress the contention of the author that modern society has anything fundamentally the matter with it" (p. 178 n.).

A similar bias shows itself in the treatment of the historical material. It is impressive, indeed, to contrast the comparatively short period of civilization with the long, long ages preceding it, and doubtless important inferences are to be drawn from it regarding the depth and persistence of our savage and animal inheritance. But there is room for some differences of opinion as to what these inferences should be; in any case the construction is from the nature of the case largely hypothetical. Here it is put forward with dogmatic assurance. We do not expect a sympathetic appreciation of the great systems of philosophy from one who, like our author, regards metaphysics as an indulgence like smoking, and we are not here disappointed. Much he understands about Plato! But he might at least have spared us the inaccuracies of such statements as that Aristotle was banished from Athens (p. 100) and that the Epicureans believed in the gods because, like Descartes, they thought we had an innate idea of them (p. 105). In the medieval mind he sees only its superstition, intolerance, mysticism (as though that were necessarily bad), and blind following of tradition, quite overlooking its historical values in the shaping of medieval society and in the discipline which prepared the way for modern culture. Equally unhistorical is the view which sees in the great epochs only radical revolt from the old and a beginning *de novo*; this is to ignore the historical factors of continuity and to make all progress catastrophic. Much that the author writes is stimulating and some of it is true; but he writes not as a historian who seeks to interpret and understand tradition, but as a reformer who sees in tradition only an enemy to "combat".

H. N. GARDINER.

International Law, chiefly as interpreted and applied by the United States. By CHARLES CHENEY HYDE, Professor of Law in Northwestern University. In two volumes. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1922. Pp. lix, 832; xxvii, 925. \$25.00.)

EVERY work on international law must necessarily bear the impress of the nationalistic prejudices of its origin, but in this case the author frankly aims to adopt the viewpoint of the American judges and officials who have been called upon to apply and therefore to interpret the rules of international law. Nevertheless Professor Hyde makes it clear that he understands the nature and limits of such state action; for after he has explained in a remarkable passage (I. 12) the real nature of local applications and interpretations of international law and the method of

settling the consequent controversies with other states through negotiation and arbitration he concludes: "Observance of the award by the delinquent State (possibly entailing amendatory legislation) will terminate the conflict and establish the supremacy of the international obligation."

Notwithstanding express avowal that these volumes are based upon the practice and official opinions of American authorities, they appear rather to formulate the law of nations as such after it has been freed from the dross of national bias. It may be that the author is happily so permeated by an international concept of the law he expounds as unconsciously to lean upon those instances which are free of prejudice peculiar to this nation. Be that as it may, it seems reasonable to expect that the work will find acceptance by the jurists of other nations as an adequate presentation of international law in its strictest sense.

Professor Hyde, who evidently belongs to the positive school, surprises us by rejecting the idea of compulsion as a sanction of international law and prefers to rely upon each state's innate respect for law and its regard for the good opinion of mankind (I. 10-11). "Although without what may fairly be described as a legal sanction", Mr. Hyde considers that "the principles and rules governing the conduct of States do not lack the quality of law" (I. 10), and in his definition he declares: "The term international law may be fairly employed to designate the principles and rules of conduct declaratory thereof which States feel themselves bound to observe, and, therefore, do commonly observe in their relations with each other" (I. 1). Hall, who is generally held to be second in authority to no English writer, considered it necessary to add to his definition that the states "also regard [the rules of international law] as being enforceable by appropriate means in the case of infringement", (W. E. Hall, *International Law*, fourth ed., p. 1).

Until the nations shall form a more perfect union than the existing society of states, the appropriate action to enforce its law is self-help or self-enforcement. Once, long ago, our national law had to depend upon the same procedure. Unless there were an actual fear of this appropriate sanction, many a state would disregard the rules of international law until they were trampled down to a basis of pure comity or reciprocal convenience.

Whatever criticism may be justified on the ground of this disregard of enforceability as an essential characteristic of international law, when Professor Hyde comes to the formulation of the law he appears to have set forth only those rules which we believe the nations do actually and rightly regard as entitled to be enforced. Perhaps the author deserts his definition and relies on restraint when he so aptly says: "Above all, it must be apparent that whenever the interests of that [international] society are acknowledged to be at variance with the conduct of the individual State, there is established the ground for a fresh rule

of restraint against which old and familiar precedents may cease to be availing" (I. 3).

The preceding quotation may be taken as indicative of the broad-minded and truly international spirit in which this work is conceived. Here is no defense of the selfish and sterile doctrine of absolute sovereignty. The prevailing conditions of disorder in Haiti and certain other states in our vicinage give a peculiar significance to what Professor Hyde writes of the "chronic disregard of international obligations". "Impotence to perform the common duties of a member of the family of nations" gives rise to a right of "intervention" and the "delinquent State"—so the author concludes—may in extreme cases of internal disorder "be placed for the time being under the protection of that [state] which it has wronged or of some other foreign power, thereby losing during the period of protection the condition and privileges of independence" (I. 123-124). In the matter of intervention Mr. Hyde has furthermore dispelled a current illusion to the effect that whereas collective action may be legal and justifiable the intervention of a single power is unjustifiable. "On principle", he writes, "a group of States acting in concert has no broader right of intervention than that possessed by a single State" (I. 122).

Throughout the discussion of the principles we find recognition of the superiority of the needs of international society over the narrow pretensions of an absolute sovereignty or independence. As evidence we may refer to sections in which the various rights of transit are discussed (I. 311-317; *cf.* 284, 327, 331-332, 335).

Without entering upon any analysis of the contents or the carefully thought-out plan of arrangement we must feel especially grateful to Professor Hyde in that he has so fully considered the important but often neglected subject of consular rights and duties (I. 785-832).

We can hardly fail to agree with the author that as long as states contemplate war it will be necessary to regard "the principles which are deemed to regulate their conduct as belligerents" as "constituting a vital part of international law" (II. 187), and he therefore devotes the major portion of his second volume to a consideration of the laws of war and neutrality. To this discussion of questions which have divided the world in impassioned camps the author fairly makes application of juristic principles, as, for example, when he concedes the right of a submarine transport vessel properly distinguished as such to enjoy the same treatment in regard to visit and search as that to which a surface merchantman is entitled (II. 463-464).

It is probably too much to expect that any present discussion of blockade and contraband can be regarded as final or that the conclusions reached are destined to be adopted by governments when they shall again be engaged in hostilities, but we may safely affirm that Professor Hyde's careful statement of the controverted points and the

conclusions which he sets forth will be entitled always to an unusual consideration.

Some ground for criticism and a few defects do not destroy the value of a comprehensive treatise. These two volumes stand the fundamental test of general reliability, and they will without doubt take high rank as constituting a trustworthy and scholarly exposition of those rules of law which bind the member states of international society in their intercourse one with another.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

Le Langage: Introduction Linguistique à l'Histoire. Par J. VENDRYES, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1921. Pp. xxviii, 439. 15 fr.)

WHY include a book on language in a series on "The Evolution of Humanity"? Because, says M. Vendryes (p. 1): "Language is both an instrument and an aid of thought. It is language that has enabled man to become conscious of himself and to communicate with his fellows—that has made possible the establishment of societies." Human society and human thought, in their higher forms at least, would have been impossible without language, which is not only an "instrument of thought" but, according to M. Henri Berr ("Avant-propos", p. xvii), "a factor of society". Not, he adds, "a product of society" as maintained by the school of Durkheim. But M. Berr recognizes, too, that society "exercises a pressure (*une pression*)" upon language. He would apparently agree that, whether originally a "factor" or a "product" of society, language has been at all historic periods both. Similarly as to language and thought—perhaps men *can* think in non-linguistic terms; but they seldom do so. And their thoughts are unconsciously but profoundly affected by the forms of language in which they can hardly avoid clothing them—both their thoughts, and (consequently) their actions.¹ That language, on the other hand, is also influenced by thought, is equally clear. These reciprocal relations between language and man's intellectual and social life seem enough to justify, for a historian, an examination of the nature of language, as a tool of man.

M. Vendryes divides his book into five main parts: I. Sounds, II. Grammar, III. Vocabulary, IV. Constitution of Languages, V. Writing. The last three seem to me the best; they are also the parts of most general interest. Part III. treats of why and how words change their meanings, and concepts change their names. The historic and social importance of language-study appears most clearly here and in part IV.,

¹ Think of the power of "catch-words" and of "calling names" (without regard to facts) in determining men's actions, to mention but one instance—a very simple one, but of far-reaching social importance. "The word is not only a key; it may also be a fetter." E. Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1921), p. 17.

which treats of what constitutes "languages" (*les langues*) as distinguished from "language" (*le langage*), of dialects, "special languages" (those peculiar to one trade, caste, sex, religious group, etc.), *argots*, contact and mixture of languages, and finally the comparative method of language-study, which, despite its drawbacks, is a necessary substitute for the historic method when historic data are wanting. Part V. contains *inter alia* a brief but good history of writing, a conservative discussion of the simplified-spelling question, and a treatment of the influence of writing on spoken language, the importance of which is often underestimated.

The more technical parts I. and II. are disappointing. They contain little that tends to clarify our ideas or advance our knowledge on these subjects, which are, indeed, as difficult as they are important for the linguist. For instance, there is an element of truth in the fundamental distinction made (p. 86), among grammatical concepts, between "seman-temes", elements of [concrete] meaning, and "morphemes", formal elements. (The distinction is handled better by Sapir—see note 1—in his fifth chapter.) But the author fails to apply his terms in accordance with his own definitions. He includes among "morphemes" *all* endings and affixes, articles and (at least the French) pronouns, and numerous other words and grammatical devices, many of which express concrete ideas, and not merely "relations between ideas", which is what he says "morphemes" express. Despite this definition, he evidently thinks of a "morpheme" at times as any element that is inseparable from another element in speech. Of course these two definitions are utterly irreconcilable; and the (seemingly unconscious) blending of them leads to sad confusion.

The concluding section on Progress in Language is also confused and confusing. We get no clear idea of the grounds on which Jespersen argued that languages do "progress". If, as Jespersen maintained, (1) the synthetic and inflecting principles of, *e.g.*, Greek and Latin, are logically inferior to the analytic and isolating principles of Chinese and English; and (2) all languages tend to develop from the former stage toward the latter, and to discard logically useless formal elements—then the historical development of language is a process of logical improvement. Both points are, no doubt, disputable; but at least it seems to me that Jespersen has made clear the sole grounds on which the question of "progress" in language can be argued. Vendryes is too much pre-occupied with various aesthetic and other considerations, which have no real bearing on the subject—even if we could accept as scientific fact such curious romanticism as the paean in praise of the Greek language on pp. 405 ff., which I can hardly reconcile with the following paragraph in which the author very sanely says that it would be "ridiculous to try to prove [on aesthetic grounds] that the language used by Homer . . . is inferior or superior to that of Shakespeare".

Much better is the introduction, on the Origin of Language. It is profoundly true, though it may seem paradoxical, that "the origin of language is not a linguistic problem" (p. 6). The data accessible to the linguist fail utterly to throw light upon it, as our author makes clear. It must be left to the speculative psychologists. Psychological and not linguistic in basis are the suggestions adopted (tentatively and hesitantly) by M. Vendryes.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Introduction to the History of Christianity, A. D. 590-1314. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, Professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary, New York. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 390. \$4.00.)

DR. FOAKES JACKSON, feeling that the Middle Ages have not received of late the attention they deserve, has written an introduction to the history of Latin Christendom from the accession of Gregory the Great to the death of Clement V. in the hope of stimulating further interest. The volume opens with a chapter on the Pillars of the Medieval Church, a cross-section of Western Christendom in the sixth century, when the characteristics of the Middle Ages were already apparent. "Monasticism and the papacy," we are told, "were the corner-stones of the medieval system." There are disadvantages attached to the application of architectural terminology to a living, growing organism; but, if pillars and corner-stones we must have, better than these can be found. A sounder judgment is that of Dr. Kirsopp Lake: "From the end of the second century to the sixteenth the Christian Church was supported by three pillars, belief in the Logos-Son, Baptism, and the Mass" (*Harvard Theological Review*, XV. 106).

Of the other thirteen chapters, seven, not consecutive, are devoted to the history of the papacy. Chapter IV. gives a useful description of the organization of the church by provinces and dioceses. There is a chapter on Learning and Heresy; another on the Church as a Disciplinary Institution; and a third on the Friars, the Schoolmen, and the Universities. A number of interesting and important matters are touched upon in the chapter called a Survey of Society. The last chapter, Dante and the Decay of Medievalism, is in the main a résumé of the *Divine Comedy*.

Dr. Foakes Jackson finds much that is good to say of the medieval Church. It was "the only institution from which any hope of a regenerated world could be expected" (p. 65) and its corruption has been exaggerated (p. 84). It was for the good of the world that in his own day, at any rate, Gregory VII.'s cause should prevail (p. 143). The crusades, so far from being a monstrous example of folly, were an attempt to solve one of to-day's problems, the question of the settlement of the

Jackson: Introduction to History of Christianity 775

nearer East (p. 165). A high opinion is expressed of the popes in the Middle Ages; they "numbered the greatest men in the world" and "were the dominating forces in Europe" (p. 269). Not that the author indulges in undiluted panegyric. If the judgment which he passes on the papacy in the earlier Middle Ages is in the familiar tone of Catholic apologetic and may be reminiscent of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* which he so often cites among his "Authorities", the same is not true of the later period. "It is instructive to notice how completely the sympathy of the reader must change from one side to the other in the interval between Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. and the two French popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV." (pp. 265-266; cf. p. 269). So far from regarding the thirteenth as the greatest of centuries, he feels that "judged by its fruits it is one of the most disastrous in history" (p. 161).

The desire, while remaining impartial, to find and to emphasize what is praiseworthy in the Middle Ages, which marks the account given of papal history, is manifested in the chapters on Learning and Heresy, and the Friars, the Schoolmen, and the Universities. There was much mental activity in the Middle Ages, and much unorthodox opinion persisted through the ages of faith; we are introduced to a few of the "powerful, original, and courageous thinkers" of the period; and, here and there, we are given some inkling as regards the author's own theological opinions. The account of the Medieval Church as a Disciplinary Institution is avowedly a *précis* of O. D. Watkins's *History of Penance* with additions culled from H. C. Lea. It is a masterpiece of condensation.

A volume which sympathetically and on the whole accurately traces in broad outline the development of Western Christendom through the Middle Ages deserves a welcome from students of the period even though it cannot be considered a noteworthy addition to historical literature. This book was not written for specialists, nor was it written by a specialist, in medieval history. Indeed, it is not easy to determine for whom the book was written. There are chapters which presuppose no information on the part of the reader, and there are passages for an understanding of which a considerable amount of information is necessary. Doubtless the volume will find its way to the "reserve shelves" where some of its chapters will serve a useful purpose as "outside readings". But if Dr. Foakes Jackson does not give us an adequate treatment of the history of Christianity in a period that he has not made his own, it is encouraging to have a theologian who belongs to the extreme left of the modernist school urge the importance of the study of the medieval Church.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

A History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. By WILLIAM HEYWOOD. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 292. \$8.00.)

DELAYED by illness and war and finally broken off by death, the *History of Pisa* must always remain a torso. To the readers of William Hey-

wood's many studies of medieval Italy this will be a cause of keen regret. Twenty and more years of concentrated and sympathetic labor directed to the youthful Tuscan and Umbrian communes qualified him to compose a picture of Pisa of which he might reasonably hope that it would take rank with his able and lively *History of Perugia*. Fate ruled otherwise, but, though incomplete, this work on Pisa, which takes the story of the city through infancy and youth, is a solid achievement showing no falling-off of mental powers. At the turning-point from consular government to the rule of the podestà the pen fell from the author's hand.

It is a hopeless undertaking to develop the story of a medieval commune merely at the hand of the scattered notices of biased chroniclers and of the rare official documents which have reached our time. The effort, no matter how conscientiously directed, will be wasted unless it be enlivened by a plentiful draught from the well-springs of the imagination. It was this very ingredient which has favorably distinguished Heywood's work in the past and it is not absent in this last contribution. However, a certain brilliance is missing and the impression is conveyed that the author, held to earth by an excess of scholarly caution, has somehow failed to free his wings. A too uninterrupted prosaic patter is particularly evident in the central section of the books which deals with Pisa's heroic period when, in close association with Frederick Barbarossa, she won the ascendancy of Tuscany. Though the minute moves of the complicated game of imperial and communal politics are necessary to a full comprehension of the situation, we regret that their over-conscientious rehearsal could not have been more completely subdued to the broad and majestic themes which Time was hammering out upon its anvil. The author's closely documented method is better suited to the constitutional development of Pisa and this leaps from his pages with convincing clearness. It is not likely that the general forces which led to the formation of the communal type or that the specific agencies, such as the *vicecomes*, the archbishop, the *conjuratio*, which particularly shaped the young fortunes of Pisa, have been more lucidly exhibited in their interaction than in Heywood's last three chapters. An excellent achievement, too, are the chapters dealing with the relatively unexplored situation in Sardinia and Corsica and the malignant struggle for their control with the rival commune of Genoa. Although in this as well as in all the other sections the author used only printed sources, his poised judgment has greatly helped to clarify the clouded picture of the eleventh and twelfth century struggle among the powers of the Tyrrhennian sea. The peculiar bias against Florence which is a feature of all of Mr. Heywood's Tuscan studies reappears in this his swan song. Florence is the indubitable villain of the Tuscan piece. The Great War, the end of which he lived to see, intrudes into this story of passionate medieval conflict just enough to make it clear that the author clings to his satanic formula also for the modern world, with Germany cast for the rôle in which Florence won such sinister distinction in an earlier age.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny: Documents Fiscaux de 1306 à 1537. Réunis par JACQUES GROB, publiés avec des Additions et Corrections de JULES VAN-NÉRUS. Volume I. (Brussels: P. Imbreghts. 1921. Pp. xi, 796.)

THE Royal Commission of Belgian History has not been discouraged by the war. It continues to harvest original documents relating to the lands that were, as well as those which are, Belgic. This volume has to do with the whole of Luxembourg—present Belgian department and grand duchy alike—in its former status as countship or duchy, although the grand duchy has been entirely out of the Belgic circle for 83 years. It happens, however, that within the last few months there has been a fresh adjustment of relations between the two. The customs barrier has been removed by the final ratification on March 6, 1922, of the Belgian-Luxembourg treaty signed by the negotiators on July 25, 1921. It is a mere customs alliance, to be sure. The political independence of the grand duchy is preserved. But the commercial interests of the greater and the lesser state are welded together just as those of the latter were with Germany in the *Zollverein*, summarily abolished in 1918. Other changes will follow inevitably in addition to certain items already accepted. Belgian money is to replace Luxembourg bank notes of more than ten francs which are now in circulation, Belgian consuls will probably assume charge of Luxembourg interests (as a survival of the personal union with Holland, these have been in charge of Dutch officials abroad), a *Commission Paritaire* composed of three Luxembourg and three Belgian delegates is to study the metallurgic problems, while the administration of the railroads, in German control from 1872 to 1918, is to be arranged later after discussion by the two governments. No one can deny that the doors have been opened to a resumption of a relationship even closer than that existing of old when the sovereign at Brussels was also count or duke of Luxembourg in his own person. Grand-ducal have been by no means unanimous in desiring this after-war affiliation, even though they did not cling to Germany in prosperity or in defeat. Their reluctance is, perhaps, a direct inheritance from past ages when there was a tenacious desire to preserve control of their money affairs and to resent the slightest attempt to sweep them into any general system of taxation emanating from the seat of the general government. But this is all by the way. The new union has nothing to do with the appearance of the volume as part of the Belgian series. The Luxembourg matter was a part of the scheme of the Commission Royale long before 1914. The enumeration of the "fires" was a careful census of the inhabitants for the purpose of allotting the contribution to be expected from each unit of taxation—which was what each "fire" denoted. The freedom of the duchy from the imposition of any collective tax voted by the States General was recognized. In 1473 the Duke of Burgundy, and at later dates Charles V., asked a volun-

tary aid from Luxemburg, the Estates assented and then proceeded to distribute the burden. But their assessments were by no means meekly accepted. Individualism persisted in the property units that composed the duchy just as it did in the states that made up the Seventeen Provinces. The census is interesting, not only as showing the population and its distribution at the epochs indicated, but also as evidence of the tenacious memory of the precise conditions under which each unit had entered into the state and what exemptions it was entitled to. Every precedent for shirking responsibility was cited. In 1473 the sum voted by the optimistic Estates was 12,000 crowns, but the tax-gatherers found their task of collecting infinitely difficult in the face of the exemptions claimed by those who were rated as giving voluntarily to aid their sovereign in his enterprises beyond their frontiers.

This volume has been long on the way. In 1914 the editor, Abbé Grob, a Luxemburger, was interrupted in his effort to gather scattered data. His death in 1915 threw his material into the hands of Jules Van-nerus, who found many errors, not unnatural in documents of a bilingual land. It has taken him a long time to disentangle the confusion. The volume will be useful to any student of feudal land tenure and its obligations.

Nova Alamanniae: Urkunden, Briefe, und andere Quellen besonders zur Deutsche Geschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Von EDMUND STENGEL. I. Hälfte. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1921. Pp. ii, 416. M. 54.)

SOME medievalist ought to write a book on the office of the notary in the Middle Ages, for what is written is scattered and insufficient. This much, I think, may truthfully be said without doing injustice to the labors of Harry Bresslau and Arthur Giry, to whose noble works every student of medieval history is a debtor. The proof of this observation lies in this collection, which contains some very valuable documents upon the nature and practice of the medieval notary's profession (nos. 369, 397, 483, 496). Everywhere in Europe the important trusts committed to notaries required them to be men of character, intelligence, education, and practical ability. The gem of these documents is no. 483, which gives the text of the oath a medieval notary was required to take. The dignity and honor of the profession contrasts sharply with the degraded condition of the modern notary's office. The instruction reads (but the whole document ought to be read for its minute instructions):

Tu jurabis ad sancta Dei ewangelia de cetero fidelis esse sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ac sacro imperio Romano suisque imperatoribus, scripturas vero per te in formam publicam redigendas in carta papirea vel unde abraza fuerit scriptura non conscribas tabellionatusque officium sine fraude exercebis nil addens vel minuens maliciose vel fraudulenter, quod contrarium alteri prodesse poterit vel obesse.

Almost all the documents in this volume pertain to a collection formed by an eminent German notary in the first half of the fourteenth century named Rudolf Losse, who was an attaché of the cathedral church of Trier, and later a deacon of Mainz. Years ago two German scholars happened upon a small collection of documents which had once belonged to Losse, and were found in the archives at Darmstadt. But Herr Stengel has discovered the original nest of Losse's manuscripts in the Landesbibliothek at Cassel, and this substantial volume (the first of two) is the fruit of his good fortune. As the volume has no index it may be convenient to specify particular documents of special value.

The importance of the collection may be appreciated when it is said that here are found many new documents (though some are copies) pertaining to the history of the Emperor Ludwig IV. of Bavaria, his conflict with the Avignonese popes (nos. 71, 78, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 103, 104, 188, 274, 295, 377, 379, 380, 387, 585), the attitude and policy of both the German clergy and the German feudality toward emperor and pope (nos. 491, 494, 521, 545-547), the imperial relations with England and France during the first throes of the Hundred Years' War (nos. 175, 408, 413, 477, 497, 548, 563, 581), besides more detached documents not forming parts of a series, which touch upon the history of the Spiritual Franciscans (no. 218), the early history of the Visconti of Milan (nos. 134-136), the effort of Clement V. to arouse Europe to a new crusade, much to the anxiety of Venice, which angered the pope by counter-intrigue (no. 70). Three documents cast light on the development of town life in Germany, especially upon Oppenheim (nos. 252, 266, 520), and upon the condition of the Jews, notably in Strasbourg (nos. 299, 309, 335, 403, 520). Great interest attaches to nos. 90, 91, 92, 95, 123, 553, which deal with the *Kaiseridee* and the political theory of the fourteenth century with reference to the relations of papacy and empire. The influence of Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham is apparent in these sources. In nos. 455, 458, 486, we have new light on Cardinal Talleyrand, the French statesman of the reign of Philip of Valois (the name is spelled Talayrand), and it comes as a shock of surprise to find a cardinal Neapoleon (Orsini) in the papal entourage (nos. 457, 559-560); I leave to enthusiastic Bonapartists the joy of discovering his attachment to the Napoleonic genealogical tree.

In addition to the light thrown upon the nature of the notary's office in the Middle Ages, these documents are of great interest to the student of palaeography and diplomatic. The astonishingly slovenly Latin will soon strike the reader. The earliest example written in German is no. 273, about 1329; others in German are nos. 274, 295, 377, 379, 380, 387. These possibly may also interest the philologist as examples of medieval German dialect in the middle Rhineland in the fourteenth century. No. 295, written at Trier, is curious for French locutions and spellings. No. 413 is in French. The first document written on paper is of the year 1336. In no. 231 is a tantalizing reference to one "Robertus Anglicus",

a resident of Avignon and evidently an accomplished penman, who sells to Rudolf Losse a valuable manuscript "scriptum in pergamenis vitulinis et edulinis" for the sum of 8 pounds and 8 shillings—"good money of Tours". Later on (no. 369) we find Losse buying an example of the Decretals of Gregory IX. from a clerk in Mainz for thirty-one florins.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: a Study in Anthropology. By MARGARET ALICE MURRAY. (Oxford: University Press. 1921. Pp. 303. 16s.)

IN her use of the word "witch" Miss Murray does not discriminate those who in many lands and many ages have used enchantments from the victims of that panic of terror and pious hate which in Christendom alone, and mainly from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth, put women and men to death by thousands on the charge of selling themselves to Satan; but the witch-confessions on which she bases her theory of a "witch-cult" belong to the latter. In the English-speaking lands to which her study is chiefly devoted they do not antedate the later sixteenth century and to most students of the witch-panic have seemed but a belated echo of those of the Continent. It is now some three hundred years since the Jesuit Spee published the book which did most to convince the world that these confessions of those accused of witchcraft were but fabrications wrung from them by the torture. Earlier doubters had lacked evidence or had been silenced by authority. Spee's book went out without his name, but he had clearly been a confessor to the accused. He knew that these believed themselves innocent and he had learned in all its details the merciless procedure that extorted what their prosecutors wished. "If all of us," he wrote, "have not confessed ourselves witches, it is only because we have not been tortured." The eloquent plea found hearing in high quarters. One after another of those connected with the courts verified for himself the assertions of Spee and added a volume to the literature of protest. Documentary evidence began to come in from the accused themselves. The rational eighteenth century invited to yet more thoroughgoing revelations; and now for more than a hundred years Protestant scholars and Catholic, once rivals in credulity, have been disputing instead as to the credit for priority in unmasking the cruel delusion.

But, while historians have thus been reaching agreement, it has been less easy to wipe from the general mind the impressions left by the old official teaching or made on those who stumble in the libraries on what was once accepted as judicial evidence. Every new revelation in science, every fresh point of view in philosophy, has furnished to somebody another explanation of what are called "the phenomena of witchcraft". Especially prone to such speculation have been those concerned for the repute of the men or the orthodoxies responsible for that old witch-hunt-

ing, and no small part of what is now written on the witches is the product of these hostile pens.

If to this literature of indictment Miss Murray's book must be reckoned, let it at once be added that there is in it no shadow of such partizanship. Alas, to the historian there is little else to commend it. How narrow as yet are her studies she tells us herself. Of the protests above described she knows not a word. The careful general histories by modern scholars are as unknown to her. A few of the earlier skeptics she names, but in phrases that suggest a scant acquaintance; and she certainly can not have read those whom against them she lumps off together as "believers". Perhaps it is from Mr. Lecky's chapter that she has the notion that the believers were abler than the doubters; but, had she studied the admirable sifting of this witch-evidence—and of Mr. Lecky's verdict—some thirty-odd years ago by a trio of the English Society for Psychical Research, she would have learned that the superiority does not lie in critical insight or in knowledge of the evidence.

Even in the works which she has used she has "omitted the opinions of the authors" and has "examined only the recorded evidence". If this were to insure an unbiassed impression and to test by her own criticism before listening to others', it might well be commended; but in her book criticism is as absent as the knowledge of any. To her every confession is true, all the accused guilty, and whether convicted or acquitted. She does not trouble her judgment by hearing even what they say for themselves. Mary Osgood, for example, whose confession she repeatedly quotes, not only retracted it all and was eventually discharged, but handed in (she and her Andover neighbors) a vivid description of the pressure and persuasion by which the confession was extorted. Nor may it be forgotten that in these Massachusetts trials only those who would not confess were put to death. But of all this Miss Murray says nothing. Even Joan of Arc, whose two trials have shown us so minutely her brave and devout soul, is as guilty as the rest.

Not that Miss Murray has not somewhere learned that the confessions have been ascribed to torture. In a few lines of her introduction she once for all brushes away that suggestion. "In most of the English and many of the Scotch trials," she tells us, "legal torture was not applied." How has she assured herself? And may illegal torture be ignored by a student of evidence? Almost as briefly she disposes of the notion that the uniformity of the confessions may be explained by the leading questions and by the explicit questionaries which left the accused little need for aught but yes or no. Where, she asks, did the questions come from? But she gives herself no pains to find out.

She has really studied, and with diligence, the contemporary accounts. As yet, however, it is only to those of Great Britain that she has given "an intensive study"; though with glances at those of Ireland and New England, of France and Scandinavia, where she thinks she finds the

"cult" the same. Intensive her study is: by hook or by crook these sources are made to confess what their questioner suspects. If her results, like her method, are not those of the old demonologists, it is due to a difference in the questioner. Miss Murray is a rationalist. Of the supernatural she will have nothing. All that is needed is to omit the miracle or explain it away. The witches actually went to a witch-sabbath; but on foot and to an accessible spot. There they actually worshipped the Devil; but it was a Devil impersonated by a man. They really had familiars and used them in sorcery or divination; but these were actual cats or dogs or toads, not imps. Much she can tell us of their rites and of their organization; and all this she counts the survival of a pre-Christian cult, which for centuries had lingered on in secret till the witch-trials brought it to light. This cult, she thinks, was hereditary, the children of the witches being baptized into it; and perhaps her skill in extorting evidence may best be illustrated from her appendix on the names of witches. Among the women, eight names, she finds, predominate. It does not occur to her to ask if these names did not also predominate among other women at the time and place. Two of them are Anne and Marion (*i.e.*, Marian, Marianne, Mary Anne). To another these might seem commonplace enough, since Christian names had long been saints' names, and the Virgin Mary and her mother St. Anne could hardly be strange patrons, even for witches' children; but Miss Murray explains to us that "there was a British goddess called Anna". That Joan, or Jane, the feminine of John, was used so often, must have some deep significance; but she cannot guess it. As for Christian (Christine), "the name clearly indicates the presence of another religion".

Surely, discussion of what confessedly is so unripe is premature. When Miss Murray has broadened her study to all the lands where she can find the "cult"; when she has dealt with documents worthier the name of records than the chap-books and the formless reports that have to serve us for the British trials; when she has traced back witch-sabbath and questionnaire through the centuries of witch and heretic hunting that precede the British; when she has trusted herself to study the work of other students and fairly to weigh their conclusions against her own in the light of the further evidence they may adduce: then perhaps she may have modified her views. Whether she changes or confirms them, she will then have earned the right to a hearing. And meanwhile she will have discovered how many times the theory she now thinks her own, or something very like it, has been advanced before. In the nineteenth century a brilliant but imaginative French historian set it forth in the most fascinating book of all witch literature. Not even Jules Michelet's seductive pen could make it convincing, though his wide learning qualified it by large concession to the views of other scholars; but it was perhaps its influence on French thought that made it possible a generation ago for a rascally free-thinker to hoax multitudes of honest Catholics into be-

lieving that in our day Freemasonry is just such an actual Devil-worship as Michelet and Miss Murray conceive that of the witches to have been. After all, is it much more absurd to ascribe such a secret cult to the nineteenth century than to the seventeenth?

That her volume has seemed to need such fullness of review is due less to its contents than to the press from which it comes and to the praise it has received from even historian reviewers. That so lightly she or they could reach a verdict is doubtless largely for the lack in English of any thorough history of witchcraft. Alas that Mr. Lea did not live to complete his work! Perhaps even the materials which he had gathered, and which ere long will now be given to the press, may help to insure a longer suspense of judgment.

GEORGE L. BURR.

A Short History of the Irish People from the Earliest Times to 1920.

By MARY HAYDEN, M.A., Professor of Modern Irish History in the National University of Ireland, and GEORGE A. MOONAN, Barrister-at-Law, Special Lecturer on History, Leinster College of Irish. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. 20s.)

AN eminent Irish scholar, in the preface to a history of Ireland published a few years ago, observed that, while some people may be disposed to ask if there were a real need of a new history of Ireland, since there are so many already in the hands of the public, yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a really good work, "full, accurate, well-written, and impartial".

The scope of the present volume precludes it from pretending to the first of the foregoing qualifications; but it deserves the other three—it is accurate, well written, and, while staunchly national, it is impartial. Furthermore, this volume differs from its predecessors chiefly because these predominantly belong to the "painted landscape" type, presenting the story strongly to the imagination, recording events in their sequence but not adequately setting forth the causal nexus persisting from age to age, while this is a scientific history. It is not merely a relation of the scenes and rôles which make up the drama played on the stage of Ireland; it is a history of the Irish people.

The first book covers the period down to the coming of the Normans. The early semi-mythical and legendary stories of races and personages are not accepted as serious history. Working back from subsequent historic data, a conjectural attempt is made to determine what core of fact lies at the centre of the legendary haze. And here it may be remarked once for all that, throughout the work, there is evident a judicial caution in handling topics on which testimony is conflicting. Repeatedly, charges against men or measures that elsewhere have been accepted as proven, are here qualified with a discreet "it is said".

The basic thesis of the work is expressed in the following passage (p. 56): "The nation was a *living organism*, with periods of progress or decay, and in political, social, economic, and intellectual functions, many changes took place. But there were certain *principles* of law and government and social life which were distinctly characteristic of the entire Gaelic people. Upon these principles they remained organised until the seventeenth century, and even to the present day the Irish people are affected by their influences."

Through the events of the Norman invasion and subsequent settlement, the armed struggles between Norman and Gael, the frequent combinations of some of each party against similar combinations, are briefly but clearly described. The result of the feudal system of the Normans and the native clan system, with their conflicting principles of land-ownership, mutually modifying each other without becoming completely harmonized, is carefully analyzed. This conflict of land-tenure systems is immeasurably embroiled in the following centuries by successive "grants", plantations, and settlements. Rightly judging the tenure of land to be one of the great functions of national life, and one especially active in the efforts of the *organism* to assimilate the successive foreign elements introduced by the various plantations, the writer has traced its manifestations through each period.

Here one may be permitted to place a note of interrogation after one view in this exposition. The Ulster "tenant right" custom, which Gladstone employed as the corner-stone of his land-tenure reform legislation, was not, as the text would have it, a survival of the clan system, though there was some resemblance between them. The "Ulster custom" sprang from the first Plantation of Ulster. It attained to full vigor as an unwritten law in the lands of County Coleraine (now Derry) and adjoining territories granted to the London companies, Drapers, Salters, Skinners, etc. It extended to other estates created by the plantation "grants". The rank and file of the people brought over to colonize the forfeited estates of the Irish chiefs were indispensable partners with their leaders, who obtained the grants, in the scheme of colonization to supplant the native population. Hence, in the "settlements" they were not on the footing of mere tenants at will; they obtained a real though subordinate interest in their farms, fixity of tenure as long as they paid their rents.

Another fact that is emphasized through the course of the history is the feeble, sometimes almost negligible, authority of the English crown over the Norman and Gaelic "old strangers" and "new strangers" until the end of the Elizabethan wars, when, the text states (p. 266), "after nearly four and a half centuries, the English Conquest of Ireland was real and complete". This verdict will provoke strong dissent from some quarters. Again, from the time of Poynings's Parliament forward to 1782, the opposition of individuals and bodies who controlled or represented the national forces and conditions to interference in Irish affairs by the English

Parliament and Privy Council is shown to have been perpetually active—another manifestation of organic unity, however imperfect it may have been. Even when the leaders and representatives of the nation were in an overwhelming majority descendants of planters, Cromwellians, Williamites, they resented measures that overrode the nation. After reading that the Parliament of the eighteenth century exhibited every fault that a parliament could have, one may smile at the apologetic reflection (p. 377), "Still, with all its faults, it was an *Irish* Parliament of a kind". A poor thing, sir, but mine own!

The claim advanced in the preface that the authors have striven to be impartial is amply sustained. They have shunned the rhetorical. A leader who failed is not, therefore, denounced as a traitor or incompetent. When foreign influences have contributed any benefit, or English statesmen have made any honest endeavor to contribute to Irish welfare, the good is liberally acknowledged. The long story of misgovernment is told so temperately that, compared for instance to the denunciations of Gladstone or Macaulay, this presentation of the case frequently reads like a plea in mitigation of sentence. The evidence is submitted, and facts left to speak for themselves.

One important element of the work remains to be noticed. This is the synopsis, in chronological order, of the history of Irish literature. In each period the state of literary culture and education, the writings which are still extant or which are known to us only through later writers, their value, whether historical or purely literary, receive attention, in order to show that this living current, beginning in the remote past and at times dwindling to feeble dimensions, has nevertheless run continuously down to its vigorous expansion in the present day.

The work may be said to close with the end of the nineteenth century, although there is a final chapter in which the events of the present century, up to 1920, are chronicled without comment. In the preface, the parts for which the joint authors are respectively responsible are indicated. While the title sets forth correctly the nature of the book, as a history of the Irish people, many will regret that the other word is also apt: it is short. Enlarged to a scale that would give fuller scope for detail in the treatment, the work would become a lasting treasure for the historical student.

JAMES J. FOX.

Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1613-1614. [Master of the Rolls.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1921. Pp. ix, 741. £1. 1s.)

THE decision of the Record Commissioners to continue the publication of the *Acts of the Privy Council* for the reigns of James and Charles is of greater importance to students of constitutional and administrative history than many will realize who have not already read some consider-

able portion of the unpublished part. Somewhat extensive researches in the administrative and legal records and in the correspondence of the period from 1580 to 1620, in private as in the usual manuscript repositories, have established to my thinking that the important formative decade, the truly significant shift in emphasis from the administrative system of Elizabeth to that of the Stuarts, was the years from 1601 to 1611 or possibly 1612—the very period for which the Privy Council Register was burned in the fire at “the Banqueting howse” in 1618. To the least informed and to the most casual inspection, the contents of the Privy Council Register published in this volume differ in character from the last years of Elizabeth. The change is too great to be fortuitous, too sweeping to be the result of anything but design, had we no other materials from which to establish the extent and character of the administrative reforms of those eventful years. But the change in 1613–1614 has taken place; the reforms are over; the new regime is already established and is not yet in the making or further to be transformed. This the correspondence and State Papers establish and the letters of the Privy Council and the fragment of a transcript (if such it be) in the Additional MS. 11402 confirm. The records of the administrative courts, the High Commission, the Council of Wales (as it is invariably written at this time), the Council of the North, the Court of Requests further demonstrate this fact. A great and sweeping change in the working of the entire administrative system took place between 1601 and 1613 of which from the records of the Privy Council there is now no account to be had.

The volume now published gives an accurate idea of the general type of material to be found in the Register for about a decade, after which (1624) the Register becomes still more formal. On the whole, the economic policy of the Privy Council came more and more to be executed (as was already true in 1608 during the great famine) by formal action recorded by correspondence in the Register, and the bulk of such material is much larger than under Elizabeth and grows to a still greater volume under Charles. The quasi-legal functions of the Privy Council were in 1605 otherwise provided for, in a fashion too complicated to be here described, and a considerable body of actions and correspondence disappear therefore from the Register and do not later reappear. On the whole, the methods intended for dealing with such crises as Essex's Rebellion are no longer entered in the Register, other provision than direct Council action having already been made. While it is demonstrable from a vast bulk of material that the Privy Council was not a factor less important in administration than under Elizabeth, the nature and character of its functions no longer appear in the Register itself to any such extent as under Elizabeth, and under Charles seem to be still less elaborately reported.

The Register itself, no less than the correspondence, shows that under Elizabeth, and certainly under James, the “Minute in the Council Chest” was itself an essential part of the Council records, which were also held

to include correspondence of various kinds. This is also clear from the correspondence at Hatfield House. All these papers seem to have been burned for the entire Elizabethan and Stuart period in 1618. What we have therefore in the Council Register is only a portion of the records which the Council kept; for historians the earlier part is more closely allied to the development of the administrative system than the part now to be published, though not as entirely trustworthy a guide as some have thought it nor as complete as it seems even after careful perusal. For all that, the Register is an invaluable and indispensable record for all students.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, September 1st, 1680–December 31st, 1681, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1921. Pp. lx, 805. 25s.)

DOCUMENTS calendared in the Domestic Series of the Calendar of State Papers are bound to be of a somewhat miscellaneous character, more so than is the case with the documents in the Colonial Series, but there is usually a sufficient number relating to some outstanding event of the period to give a certain unity to the collection. In the volume now issued for the years 1680–1681, though it contains echoes of the Popish Plot of 1679 and warnings of another popish plot in Ireland to come, the chief interest centres in the Presbyterian Plot, the “sham plot” as many contemporaries called it, for which Stephen College suffered death and in which every effort was made to implicate the Earl of Shaftesbury and others. The whole story is very involved and difficult to disentangle, and I am not sure that the present volume does very much in clearing up the situation, but it does throw light on the hysteria of the time and the ease with which men of either party accepted at its face value the evidence of witnesses. One is amazed at the prodigious number of this particular brand of gentry, who made it a profession to bear false witness against their neighbors and who were willing, apparently on any provocation, to turn about and charge with subornation those in whose interest they had thus perjured themselves. One of these was Bryan Haines, whom Pepys in 1668 called “the incomparable dancer of the King’s house”, who testified against both College and Shaftesbury and would have testified against anybody rather than starve (p. 418), and who became so notorious that his ill-repute spread to the colonies from Massachusetts Bay to Maryland. He certainly swore like a stout sinner, as Christopher Rousby wrote of him. One understands better the contemporary situation in the colonies, after breathing for a while the atmosphere of England during the years from 1679 to 1689. For that

reason, if for no other, these volumes have an importance for the student of colonial history.

But there are other interesting items also. We learn a great deal about the Dissenters, the attacks on conventicles, and the growing feeling of antagonism to the whole body of nonconformists, "Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other such vermin, which swarm in the land", marking the decline in popularity of the Whig party and the increase of the king's influence. We watch the arrival of the first of the French Protestants, four years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the favorable treatment that they received at the hands of king and people, so favorable, indeed, as to call out the wondering remark that to succor the persecuted French Protestants and to persecute the English Protestants was "a work of seeming contradiction". We add to our knowledge of Seth Sothell's captivity in Algiers (p. 458), of Shaftesbury's plan of going to Carolina (pp. 596-597), and of Captain Henry Wilkinson, reputed governor of North Carolina, whose detention in the King's Bench prison can here be traced to December, 1681, thus making it doubly sure that he never went to the colony. There is mention of Thomas Dongan and Lionel Copley; there are references to the transportation of prisoners to the colonies; and there is a very valuable set of instructions for those having letters of marque against Algiers (p. 617). "To make him wise", "to pass over the Rubicon", "to put in a plunge about my correspondence", and to "refract from my testimony" are interesting specimens of the English of the seventeenth century.

C. M. A.

Histoire de Prusse. Par ALBERT WADDINGTON, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. Volume II. *Les Deux Premiers Rois, 1688-1740.* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 598. 30 fr.)

THOSE who have read Waddington's solid studies on the Great Elector or the first volume of his *History of Prussia* will welcome the second installment of this admirable work. In its impartiality and objectivity, its clarity and discrimination, and in the Gallic charm of its expression, it even surpasses his earlier writings.

It was the misfortune of Frederick I. to be placed between two princes who have eclipsed him in history. In comparison with the Great Elector, who created the Brandenburg-Prussian state, and the Drill-Sergeant King, who made it relatively rich, prosperous, and powerful, Frederick I. has been thought to cut rather a sorry figure with his vanity and his tremendously solemn insistence on decorative trifles. "Small in great things and great in small things", his grandson said of him. Frederick I. accepted in all seriousness and gratitude the flatteries of the two-penny poets of his court, who compared Berlin with London and Paris; who celebrated "Athens on the Spree" as the "Light of the World", by in-

geniously transposing the letters *Berolinum* into *lumen orbi*; or who compared Frederick himself to Solomon in all his glory. In spite of such grotesque exaggerations, at which later generations have smiled, M. Waddington has a higher opinion of Frederick than have most historians. "Frederick wished to be magnificent and he often succeeded." Compared with the rudeness of Berlin and its society in the preceding age, the splendor and impressiveness which he achieved were astonishing. In this he was greatly aided by his spirited second wife, Sophie Charlotte, the friend of Leibnitz. King and queen had little in common intellectually. The story of her indecorous taking of snuff during the coronation solemnities and the consequent reproof from her spouse is typical of their relations. She liked gayety, dances, theatricals, and retired to bed about the hour the king was accustomed to rise. She loved to withdraw from the heavy dignity of Berlin to the less decorous pleasures of Lützelburg, which she nicknamed Lustenburg and which her husband, after her death, changed into Charlottenburg. The key to Frederick's life, to both his foreign and domestic policy, M. Waddington thinks, was his pursuit of the royal crown; considering the importance attributed in those days to matters of rank, its acquisition was worth the efforts Frederick made to secure it.

If Berlin was Athens under Frederick I. it became Sparta under his successor; but toward Frederick William I. also Waddington has a sympathetic attitude. He attributes the king's choleric outbursts in good part to the tortures of gout and severe headaches. Yet Frederick William was not always violent toward his children. A pastor, visiting the royal family at dinner in a garden, some of them with their feet dangling in the water, notes how the king's five-year-old boy cajoled his father with kisses into pardoning a deserter from the army. If Frederick William had an aversion to French, music, literature, and all that his father had prized so dearly, Waddington points out, on the other hand, that his personal life was absolutely pure in an age when royalty was not noted for morality; moreover, he created one of the best armies in Europe but did not send the men to be slaughtered in battle; and his devotion to the welfare of his country and his subjects was untiring. During his reign, the population increased from a million and a half to two million and a quarter. Every year he aimed to set aside half a million thalers and, at his death, he left a war reserve fund of some eight million thalers, a sum equal to the total revenue for a year. Waddington concludes that of all the Hohenzollern sovereigns, he was the greatest as concerns domestic administration.

Besides using the abundant printed sources and monographs, from which he has extracted many an amusing anecdote and piquant detail, as well as more serious facts and statistics, M. Waddington has drawn upon the archives of Berlin and of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a more accurate account of the foreign policy of these two remark-

able Hohenzollern rulers. In the case of each king he gives attention about equally to three subjects: the personality of the king and his court, the organic growth of state machine and economic prosperity at home, and the unravelling of diplomatic relations abroad. No work could be better adapted to make Frenchmen understand the origins of the country from which they have suffered so much.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army. By C. T. ATKINSON. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. Pp. xviii, 546. \$4.50.)

For the first time historical research has handled Marlborough's life completely and correctly. Coxe, Lediard, and more recently the fragmentary Taylor, were enthusiasts. Macaulay was partizan, too concerned with Marlborough's delinquencies to credit properly his military greatness. Fortescue's and Walton's histories of the British army are military histories rather than biographies and give scant attention to political and social events. It has been much regretted that Viscount Wolseley, "the best read soldier of his time", never completed his work; but the deficiency has now been made good. A thorough historical scholar and a practical soldier, Mr. Atkinson has produced a volume which should be an authority.

The book is well written, in a measured tone. Its arrangement and emphasis are excellent. It has not the flare of eulogistic writing, nor the errors. It does not excuse Marlborough's sins, nor apologize. It merely holds that Marlborough "did at the same time render great services to his country" (p. 511).

The book is biography. As Marlborough's life was inextricably concerned with the politics of the period and with new developments in the army, it is likewise a noteworthy contribution to contemporaneous history. The modern British army dates from Marlborough's time. Present regiments were formed in his day. The legends of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet were created by him. While Louis of Baden was content with a siege (p. 240), Marlborough was making rapid marches (pp. 256, 335, 346, 385, 420, 446), taking advantage of terrain (p. 291), moving quickly into battle (p. 343), attacking simultaneously at more than one point (p. 291), fitting all detachments into combat so as best to advance the common plan (pp. 225, 290), aiming to annihilate his enemy's field army rather than capture forts (p. 396)—creating a new form of strategy and tactics (p. 177). No more would wars be formal affairs with precise plans. Henceforth a battle was to be a conflict of wills and matching of wits. Marlborough indeed "taught the doubtful battle how to rage". Men found that lines and formations alone could not win a battle. Vauban's treatises on fortifications ceased to comprise the whole of war. Marlborough takes place in a

rational history of military thought. The line runs straight through Condé, Turenne, Napoleon, and Wellington down to Foch. All of this Mr. Atkinson makes plain.

This biographer has had an advantage over his predecessors, in matters other than military, too. He has had access to authorities which in 1899 Fortescue (*Hist. Brit. Army*, I. 553) did not know existed, notably the Orkney letters published in the *English Historical Review* in 1904, and the material uncovered by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. By using these as well as the usual sources, Mr. Atkinson has corrected many misconceptions, among others, misconceptions concerning Blenheim (p. 232), Ramillies (p. 289), and Malplaquet (p. 401). He has still kept his head and not spoken with exaggeration. His work is well documented and provided with an adequate array of foot-notes. He has shown excellent judgment in his use of foot-notes, too. When a man's career has been the subject of several biographical studies, there are many common facts concerning him well known and universally accepted. Mr. Atkinson has recognized this fact and wisely refrained from setting forth a superfluity of notes, and has given only references to statements and interpretations which are new, important, or original. Thus he has saved the appearance of his pages and brought into clearer contrast the number of real contributions to the subject for which he himself is responsible.

A bibliographical note and an index are serviceable. A simple tabulated list of authorities checked with the abbreviations later to be used therefor, might have been added to simplify the work of following references. The maps, of which there are several, are adequate.

A few mechanical errors appear. On one page (p. 253) is a foot-note and no corresponding mark in the text; on another (p. 267) two passages similarly marked and only one foot-note for the two. Burnet is referred to without designation as to which edition (p. 162). Most of the references to the preliminary pages, numbered with Roman numerals, are incorrect (*e.g.*, on pp. viii and 249, and in the index under Lloyd, Portland, Blackader, and Brodrick)—a trivial thing, perhaps, but especially confusing because these are cross-references to bibliographical data.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, de l'Académie Française. Tomes III. and IV. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1921. Pp. 598; 379. 12 fr. each.)

THE third volume of this history is for the specialist rather more important than any other and has been widely read by those interested in the present transitional epoch of Roman Catholicism in France, being already in the seventh edition. Throughout the period which it covers, from 1792 to the upheaval of Thermidor, the constitutional clergy seem to meet with

no greater favor at the hands of the Convention than the rebellious orthodox, and toward the end suffer an almost equal measure of persecution, because not ecclesiasticism but Christianity itself is now to be abolished and the goddess of Reason to be the divinity of the French state. All this is fairly told, but the outstanding character of the volume is its elaborate account of the Catholic army, its few victories and its ultimate extinction, amid bloody massacres.

The Terror with its short-lived institutions is graphically but briefly described. What is new to most readers is the true account of the Convention as a body of indifferent slackers regarding all constructive statesmanship, keen and determined only in the tricks of the politician and destroyer. That they saved France by fervor is the only claim now made for them, a claim by no means established, and with less validity or semblance of it since the united effort of all the national elements in the World War, and the failure it would have been without Foch, a devout and practising churchman. The festival of the Supreme Being, the enumeration of apostates and of martyrs, and the analysis of Robespierre's character, all exhibit fine historical capacity.

The author had intended this fourth volume of his monumental work to be the last. It covers with his meticulous care and painstaking research, qualities already noted in these pages where former volumes were under review, the period from Thermidor to Brumaire, July 27, 1794, to November 9, 1799. Unconsciously at first, later with full purpose, he makes his pages a narrative of how orthodox Catholicism secured, under persecution, painfully and slowly, the right to use certain churches in Paris and elsewhere throughout France for public worship. Himself a devout priest of that confession, it is noteworthy that he is in the main dispassionate and considerate in his treatment of the radical democrats, the Theophilanthropists, and decadarians. For the constitutional clergy and the Protestants there is possibly a little less charity. In the struggle for what he considers to be and calls religious liberty, their influence for securing parity of treatment was powerful; very different, very different indeed from the lukewarmness of even Theophilanthropy, which did have a ritual and a dogma with public exercises in churches. To the famous Grégoire he renders a grudging and unenthusiastic tribute, being careful to delineate all the incidents of his decline. Yet he says in speaking of the contemptible Merlin, an unprincipled trimmer who reached the pinnacle of his profession, the law, "History does not always see crime punished; the epilogue is not always punishment, but oftentimes reward, recompense the most unexpected".

Throughout these five years the story of religious history is virtually identical with that of politics. Our author's handling of events and characterization of public men is magisterial. His picture of the men in the Directory and his narrative of its grotesque career are the best known to the reviewer. Intensely interesting is his account of Carnot,

who, having secured the soubriquet Organizer of Victory, was a hero throughout all the sinuosities of his subsequent career. Noting the contempt of Bonaparte for human nature in general, he gives an instance or two and traces the preliminaries of Brumaire in a comprehensive and able manner. The humiliation of the papacy and the sorrowful odyssey of Pius VI. are so delineated as to soften the heart of every reader. In a foot-note at the end of this volume our author pleads guilty to having previously considered the beginning of the Consulate as the close of his epoch, the end of the religious history of the Revolution. But, weighing carefully the subject as a whole, and in consultation with expert friends, he has changed his mind. Most of the anti-Christian laws remained on the statute books, however lax their enforcement. It was not until after the negotiation and publication of the Concordat in 1802 that the struggle for religious liberty won its final success; to wit, the recognition of Roman Catholicism as being the confession of all but a small minority of Frenchmen, which it was. The establishment of its worship at the public expense completed the process of restoration, and marked the pacification of Church and State, for the time.

Father de La Gorce is now a man well on in years. He has had a laborious but successful career as a historian. His work has been crowned by membership in the French Academy and a seat under the cupola of the Institute. But his force is not in the least abated. His accuracy is unimpeachable, the field of his researches as wide as ever, and his style grows more and more finished. We read his pages with eagerness. The World War has greatly changed the texture of French life. Napoleon has come to his own, alike as the creator of permanent institutions and the founder of the strategic system which the genius of Foch, the most profound student of his military career, modified for contemporary conditions in order to secure victory at the close. Radicals are not so bitter, ecclesiastics are more resigned to the total separation of Church and State, conservatives, whether monarchical or imperialist, are less vociferous and combative, moderate republicans steer the ship of state on a course which enables the people to exhibit its finest qualities. Each generation demands the re-writing of history for itself and whatever his effort every historian reveals his own thought, philosophic and religious, to the critical reader. These volumes are reverent, considerate, even sympathetic; considered as the work of a churchman, they are wonderfully free from rancor or bias. This is the tribute which one veteran may pay to another of quite opposite tradition and training. And for this among many reasons the concluding volume will be as welcome as the others in lands where the majority of his readers are ecclesiastically minded in no slightest degree.

Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807-1815. By GUY STANTON FORD, Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (Princeton: University Press. 1922. Pp. vii, 336. \$3.00.)

FREIHERR VOM STEIN was the greatest German statesman of the Napoleonic age; by his economic and administrative reforms he regenerated Prussia for her leadership in German unity. He therefore deserved and has received full biographical treatment at the hands of eminent scholars—the six-volume documentary biography of his friend Pertz, the interesting interpretative analysis of Seeley, and the more recent and critical study of Lehmann. Where such masters have reaped it might seem that there would be little left for an American to garner. Yet Ford comes to some different conclusions from Lehmann, which we regret we cannot discuss here, and he has incorporated into his admirable brief biography of Stein some valuable statistical material from recent monographs not known to the earlier biographers.

As the title indicates, it is of Stein the Prussian reformer, as well as of the stern and unflinchingly upright *Reichsritter* and mentor of Tsar Alexander, that Ford writes. Nowhere in English, perhaps, can one find such a clear and discriminating description of pre-reform agrarian conditions and complexities in the old Prussian Kingdom as in the chapter *The Prussian Peasantry before 1807*. The sharp distinction between East and West Elbian conditions and between divergent districts within the larger areas is correctly insisted on. In general, east of the Elbe, there was "an advancing, increasingly profitable, large-scale capitalistic agriculture, with an economically and socially declining agricultural laboring class. The landowning lord was more exacting, more ready to expel a peasant upon charges of negligence, more ready to transfer an efficient and prosperous peasant to a poorer holding, which absorbed the peasant's savings and employed his energies in raising it to a higher level of production for the lord's profit". These and other handicaps on the peasantry Stein sought to remedy by his wide-reaching measures for transforming the depressed serfs into independent and self-respecting citizens of the state ready to serve as Prussian patriots under the new system of universal military service.

There is also an excellent brief account of Stein's activity in Russia, in Germany, and in the field of historical scholarship after his indiscretion in the matter of the intercepted letter made it impossible for him to remain in the Prussian ministry. Though he was unable to persuade German particularists to adopt his broad statesmanlike patriotism in the reconstruction of the German constitution at the Congress of Vienna, and though he failed to keep the King of Prussia to his promise of giving his kingdom a parliament, he did furnish the inspiration for the publication of the *Monumenta*, two volumes of which came from the press before his death in 1831. His own spirit is reflected in the motto which he gave to the historical society which thus began the publication of

the greatest collection of sources for European History: "Sanctus amor patriae dat animum".

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Diplomacy and War. By Count JULIUS ANDRÁSSY. Translated by J. H. Reece. (London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd. 1921. Pp. 323. 17s. 6d.)

AMONG the numerous recently published memoirs of men who participated in one way or another in the events preceding and during the European War, the volume of Count Andrássy will certainly take a foremost place. It has a decided historical value not only on account of the many new facts the author brings to light, but also because of its eminently impartial spirit; in this book there is none of the desire to exculpate the writer, a desire so conspicuous in the memoirs of the German statesmen and generals, like Bethmann-Hollweg or Ludendorff, Hindenburg or Helfferich. In a clear and concise way does the author tell his story, making every effort to give a fair picture of Hungary's and Austria's rôle, as he saw and understood them; just for that reason Andrássy's book will always be an indispensable source of historical information.

The author has two distinct subjects in view: he describes first the Origins of the War (part I., Pre-war History) and then tells about the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, trying to explain the advent of the Revolution (parts III.-IV., Internal Crisis, Collapse, and End). In the first three chapters (Our War Motives, Who Perpetrated the War, the Diplomatic Superiority of the Entente) Andrássy endeavors to sum up the policies and forces that led to the outbreak of the storm in 1914. He describes very well the Austro-Russian antagonism in the Balkan question and explains the policies of the different Great Powers in the steadily growing trouble. We have here an excellent picture of the diplomacy of England, France, and Russia, during the fifty years preceding the Great War, and some unsparing criticism of the author's own countrymen, as well as of the statesmen of the Vienna Ballplatz. He duly emphasizes the clever methods of co-operation employed by the governments of the three entente countries in their game against the Teutonic Alliance. There are, however, two weak points in his narrative, evidently due to the author's nationality: first, he does not take into account the oppressive policy of Hungary against the Slav people, that created among them such an intense hatred toward the Dual Monarchy, a force that led to war not less clearly than did the intrigues of Russia among the Serbs. Secondly, Andrássy does not consider in its proper light the imperialistic policy of the German government, its interference in the Balkan question, its intrigues in Constantinople, and aggression in Asia Minor; this leaves out the most important factor among the causes that brought on the war.

In the following two chapters (Austrian Political and Military Mistakes) Andrassy gives a very complete and interesting picture of the developments in Vienna during the war. The greatest mistake was certainly the complete alienation of Italy, though I doubt very much that the Austrian government could have avoided it then; the roots of its mistaken policy were deeply buried in the past, in the diplomatic transactions of the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century; this is brilliantly corroborated at present by the second volume of Pribram's *Secret Treaties*. But the author is quite right in saying that in 1917 the only way to avoid the ultimate collapse of Austria-Hungary was to conclude an immediate peace; he is also right in censuring the incomprehensible policy of Czernin, who saw the rapidly approaching end and yet did not protest in Berlin, nor make it clear there that Austria was absolutely exhausted.

The Russian Revolution deferred this unavoidable end only for a few months longer; the blame for that falls almost exclusively on Ludendorff and the German army headquarters, who could not realize that the peoples of the two allied empires no longer had their hearts in the war and who still believed that the issue was a purely strategic one. During the months that followed, Andrassy was untiring in his counsels for peace and concessions, but as so often happens in such cases, the concessions were made invariably too late. Under the circumstances, as described by the author, it is very questionable if any measures could have prevented the revolution in Austria-Hungary, though probably some of the extremes of Bela Kun's régime might have been avoided. The last three chapters of the book, in which Andrassy tells the story of the overthrow of his ministry and of the advent of the bolsheviki in Hungary, form the most valuable part of the volume, because of the quantity of details, some of which were not yet known to the outside public. The only criticism that can be made in this respect, is to point out the persistent desire of the author to exaggerate the radicalism of his opponent, Károlyi, to whom he imputes decided bolshevik sympathies. In other respects the volume will remain as a worthy contribution to modern history.

It is unfortunate that some of the names cited in the volume are badly misspelled.

S. A. KORFF.

Un Livre Noir: Diplomatie d'Avant-Guerre d'après les Documents des Archives Russes, Novembre 1910-Juillet 1914. Préface par RENÉ MARCHAND. Tome I., 1910-1912. (Paris: Librairie du Travail. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 374.)

THIS volume is part of a series of books, most interesting and instructive, on the origins of the Great War now being published in France. It is the result of the work of M. René Marchand, a French newspaper correspondent, very well known and of great experience, who spent many

years in Russia, knows the Russian language, and is thoroughly acquainted with Russian life and usages. He recently visited Russia again and with the authorization and assistance of the Bolshevik government ransacked the archives of the former Foreign Office of St. Petersburg, finding there some very important documents of pre-war days, namely, the secret and confidential correspondence of the tsar's diplomatic agents in France with their chief, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Needless to say, this volume will have an enormous value for the modern historian.

There are no startling new disclosures in the book of Marchand; the main lines of pre-war history remain untouched and the rôle of the different nations in respect to the origins of the war is not much altered. But there come to light an immense quantity of new details concerning the working of Secret Diplomacy; one really may well be amazed at the dangers of these former methods of conducting diplomatic transactions. Then, too, the reports of the Russian agents give a vivid picture of French politics in those days; they are invaluable for the right interpretation of the French psychology and policy that was backing the alliance with Russia. How little sincerity there was in it, how much selfishness, and how seldom did the respective governments pay attention to the interests and the will of the nations! Finally, the third point of interest, brought out in this Black Book, concerns the methods used toward the press, especially in France; take, for instance, the complaints of the Russian ambassador, A. Isvolsky, of the lack of funds and his explanation of the success of the Italian embassy, because they had so much money to spend for purposes of publicity. The reader must remember that these details come from the pen of an impartial author; Marchand confesses his dismay and horror, when in reading this diplomatic correspondence he began to realize the dangers that constantly were threatening the nations. This policy of Imperialism was really one uninterrupted and steady development; France was playing exactly the same game as Germany, England, or Russia. From Morocco it went on to Tripolitania, from the latter to Constantinople and the two Balkan wars, and from these wars to the general conflagration of 1914.

Among the names mentioned we find very many familiar ones of the present day; in fact, as far as France is concerned, the great majority of them are now actively in public life: Poincaré, Millerand, Barthou, Jonnart, and many, many others; only their respective titles have changed. The historians of the war might incidentally note such striking details as Sazonov's report of his talk with the King of England, when the latter told him in 1912 (two years before the war) that "We [the English] shall sink every single German merchant ship we shall get hold of". And one can be quite sure that the Germans knew about it. Further details concern the mutual espionage of the different agents; the French reading the

Italian cipher, the Russians handling French and English despatches, and so forth.

We find in this volume the discussion of two very important events, described in such detail as never before: first, the mission of Delcassé to Russia, which was the crowning point of that statesman's career, and did more than anything else to bring about the conflict with Germany. After it came the consummation of the naval agreement between France and Russia, so little known to the outside world. Secondly, the incidents connected with the tsar's visit to Potsdam in 1910 and the great alarm created by it in French government circles; the Russian explanations were really very ingenious.

We repeat it, no modern historian will be able to avoid the careful study of this book. The second volume will probably contain even more important material.

S. A. KORFF.

China at the Conference: a Report. By WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY, Professor of Political Science in the Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1922. Pp. xvi, 419. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR WILLOUGHBY'S book is offered merely as a "report" of affairs Chinese at the recent Washington Conference. It deals exclusively with the matters in which China was directly concerned. The Siberian question is referred to only once. The method is to bring together from the records, chiefly from the published documents and communiqués, the salient points in the proposals, discussions, and decisions on every topic from tariff autonomy to the Twenty-one Demands. The volume is a digest and a handbook in which the reader will find topically classified a large amount of information which otherwise can be obtained only by much search and study. It is well to note that *Senate Document* no. 126, 67 Cong., 2 sess., the first official report of the Conference and the document upon which most of Dr. Willoughby's quotations and citations are based, is now being re-edited with a view to republication by the Department of State. The new document will offer interesting comparisons with no. 126, which contained some material inadvertently published and also had inaccuracies and omissions. Not the least important of Professor Willoughby's documentary material is a digest of the preliminary correspondence in which the author hints at the evidence that the origin of the Conference was in London rather than in Washington.

China at the Conference is, however, more than a report. It is an interpretation. Without passing over into the field of propaganda where the Japanese and British advocates in the public press during the Conference won such ephemeral triumphs, Professor Willoughby has given a dispassionate, severely restrained, and documented interpretation of the exact status of China at the beginning of the Conference, its contentions, its defeats, and its achievements. The author does not share the pes-

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simism of many popular advocates of China's case. "It is certain that China obtained all, and possibly more than, it was reasonable to expect that under the existing circumstances she would be able to obtain", states Professor Willoughby (p. 333).

While the book makes no pretense to literary art it is by no means dull. The brilliant repartee of the Chinese delegates, particularly of Minister Sze, with which are contrasted the artful evasions of the British and French delegates and the stark trickery of the Japanese who rarely made a concession without what might later be used as a nullifying qualification, enlivens the pages and supports a dramatic interest. The frank, open, and ever courteous diplomatic technique of Sze and Koo is not of the sort which leads to war. One cannot say as much for the methods of most of their elder colleagues. The recent diplomacy of China belongs to the future; that of the "Powers", we may hope, belongs to the past. At any rate, the Chinese could not have adopted a policy which in the long run would be more likely to win the confidence of peoples, as distinguished from diplomatic representatives, and Professor Willoughby, abandoning as he does all efforts to gloss over unpleasant facts or to distort the case for his client, could not have adopted a plan for his book which would be more likely to assure among American students a sympathetic attitude toward China's present prostration. *China at the Conference* is not propaganda. It does not therefore belong in the class with almost everything which in the last few years has been written on the East, but the book does contain all that is legitimate in propaganda—a cold, judicial, even critical, setting-forth of the facts.

TYLER DENNETT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald, First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. Edited by his Literary Executor, Sir JOSEPH POPE. (Toronto: Oxford University Press; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xxv, 502. \$5.00.)

SIR JOHN MACDONALD was born in 1815 and died Prime Minister of Canada in 1891. He was in active political life for half a century. During his lifetime a number of transient biographies were written. The authoritative *Life* by his secretary, Sir Joseph Pope, published in 1894, was followed by a shorter sketch, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, by the same author in the series of the *Chronicles of Canada*. The vast collection of papers of Sir John Macdonald has been deposited in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. Sir Joseph Pope now supplements his biography by this volume of extracts from his chief's correspondence. It cannot be said to throw much further light on the history of Canada. Some of the letters are merely formal official communications. But

even from such trifles we get traits of character in both Macdonald and his correspondents. Thus the little casual things help us to see a real man of genius. In the United States a leader exercising executive power can be in office at most for the eight years constituting the two Presidential terms. Macdonald was a real ruler of Canada for about a quarter of a century and the head of a federal cabinet for nearly twenty years. He thus had a long training in the art of government and he acquired an almost uncanny knowledge of the strength and the weakness of politicians.

Macdonald was largely self-educated. But he was a wide reader, and he developed a lucid and correct literary style. He had many of the graces of those who move in high society and was always *persona grata* with noblemen such as Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne who filled the rather barren rôle of Governor General. Dufferin's Hibernian exuberance of compliment did not please Macdonald. "I can stand a good deal of flattery but he lays it on rather too thick" (p. 177). It is singular to find Goldwin Smith coveting and unable to get a seat in the legislature of the Province of Ontario. Macdonald was always apt with a literary reference. He told Sir George Stephen, the real builder of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who was voicing a grievance, to read Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in his Place" and to try to imagine the point of view of the other fellow. Macdonald was alert, far-sighted, cautious, a genuine leader and master of men. No doubt he was careless about the means he used. Corrupt men served him. But, from end to end, these letters breathe the spirit of a high-minded patriotism and their writer toiled on into extreme old age because he felt that duty called. He was not vindictive nor bitter. His estimates of men, if pungent, are cool and reasoned. As time passes his faults will seem slight and he will rank with the great statesmen of the age.

Macdonald had three types of problems to solve. The most important was the creating and the working of federal institutions in Canada. It is often said that he was a reluctant convert to federalism. No doubt a unitary state was his ideal but he was quick to see that in a country where Roman Catholics are nearly half of the population, the path of safety lay in giving local control to such matters as education, to which religious issues are related. Sir Joseph Pope claims that Macdonald was an early convert to federalism. Even so, he always regarded the Provincial governments as exercising an authority subordinate to the federal authority. The American conception of the federal authority as delegated from the state authority was hateful to him. Admirers of the American constitution would be equally puzzled at a constitution under which the federal authority could appoint the senators representing the states, disallow the acts of the state legislatures, and appoint the official heads of the state governments. In Canada all this is done. The governor of a province cannot even pardon a person convicted of the

most trifling offense. Yet, in spite of seeming inferiority of status in the provinces, Canada has a real federal system and time has vindicated the independence of the provincial governments from federal domination. Though an ardent Imperialist, who wished Canada to take the name of Kingdom, Macdonald never believed that a central legislature could be created to which Englishmen, Canadians, and Australians could be sent by the electors of their own country. He ridiculed the "over-washed Englishman" "full of crotchets as all Englishmen are". He refused sternly to take any share in the war in Egypt in which Gordon perished. He thought that in disputes with the United States England was too ready to sacrifice the interests of Canada. None the less was he an ardent Briton. His last political campaign was fought on the issue of Canada's resisting the magnet which freer trade with the United States would involve to draw her away from Great Britain.

Macdonald believed that the United States desired and sometimes actively planned to annex Canada. When in 1869 there was rebellion in what is now Manitoba he thought that powerful influences were at work in Washington to secure the West on which Canada had as yet so slender a hold. He was at Washington in 1871, one of the commissioners to negotiate what came to be known as the Washington Treaty, and his position was uncomfortable because he was strenuous in Canada's interests against his colleagues from England. His friend Sir Charles Tupper once urged that Macdonald should take a British peerage and go to Washington as British minister. Then he said Canada's interests would be really looked after. We still have unsolved the problem of Canada's foreign relations. This correspondence gives peeps, but only peeps, into the mind of a great man, one of whose passionate convictions was that Canada must always remain separate from the United States. Now, probably, there are few in either country who desire anything else.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776. Edited by EVANGELINE WALKER ANDREWS, in collaboration with CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. 341. \$3.50.)

THE "Lady of Quality" whose journal is the subject-matter of this volume was Miss Janet Schaw, a cultivated Scotchwoman. She belonged to the British official class. Her father, Gideon Schaw, was in the customs service in Scotland and a brother, Robert, was a planter and man of standing in the lower Cape Fear region of North Carolina. Both were connected by marriage with John Rutherford, collector of quit-rents in North Carolina, and Robert's second wife was connected

with the Howe family, a family very prominent in the politics of the colony. Another brother, Alexander Schaw, was appointed searcher of the customs at St. Christopher in the West Indies, early in 1774; thither he went the following October and with him sailed Janet Schaw, whose ultimate destination was Wilmington, North Carolina. However, Alexander Schaw also went to Wilmington, on leave; there he became a messenger from Governor Martin to Lord Dartmouth, and apparently he never returned to St. Christopher.

In the light of these facts it is natural to find that Miss Schaw's views of colonial affairs reflected those of the official class. She had no sympathy with the political aspirations or the methods of the revolutionary faction. But she was a keen observer, interested in people, appreciative of the beauties of nature, and gifted with the power of writing entertainingly. Her American experiences gave ample opportunity for the exercise of these talents. On the voyage to the West Indies the knavery of the ship-captain, a dreadful storm, the sight of an Algerian corsair, and the hazing of emigrants while crossing the tropic gave a spice of high adventure such as is to be found usually only in works of fiction. In Antigua and St. Christopher she witnessed the brutal and also the milder phases of slavery, noted the prosperity and refinement of life among the planters, and also realized the insecure basis of economic organization. It is, however, her impressions of North Carolina which make the book most valuable. On her arrival at Wilmington early in 1775 the controversy which was soon to result in war was reaching its crisis. Men and measures were therefore the subject of much comment by Miss Schaw. Contrary to existing local tradition, she found the lot of the plain people on the Cape Fear very similar to that of the same class in the Albemarle region as described by William Byrd a generation before. It is interesting to note, however, that the manners and character of the women were better than those of the men. Nor were her impressions of the upper class much more favorable. Men whom tradition has canonized as political saints were to this refined woman loose in morals, violent in methods, and not to be trusted. An exception was James Moore. On the other hand, among the merchants, Englishmen and Scotsmen who had recently come to the colony, she found standards of life much higher. These, of course, became Loyalists while the natives and men of longer residence formed the basis of the revolutionary party. Unfortunately Miss Schaw seems to have known nothing of the deeper issues of British imperialism and this ignorance of course led to prejudice. Yet the customs of the country and the acts of violence she witnessed or knew of give a certain support to her conclusions. Illustrative are her descriptions of the crude methods of agriculture, a funeral feast, the aversion to ideas or methods, the compelling men to sign the non-importation agreement, and the use of force against the royal governor. Finally, in the autumn of 1775, Miss Schaw took

refuge on a British man-of-war with Governor Martin and soon after sailed for Scotland *via* Lisbon. The Journal closes with an account of experiences as a tourist in Portugal.

Valuable as are these sketches of colonial life, they are matched in quality by the work of the editors. The introduction is all that such an essay should be, an appreciation of the fine traits of the main character by a sympathetic and kindred soul. The foot-notes and the appendixes, the latter consisting of fourteen short essays, contain such wide information regarding colonial affairs and the beginning of the Revolution in North Carolina, much of it hitherto undisclosed, as to make the book a kind of *vade mecum*, an indispensable work of reference for all who would read deeply in West Indian and North Carolina affairs in the years 1774 and 1775.

The maps, the illustrations, and the press work are excellent. The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames has shared in the cost of publication.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Collected and edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume IV. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: the Commission. 1920. Pp. 403.)

THIS closing volume of the *Ruffin Papers*, like all its predecessors, offers much that is valuable to the historian and the political scientist. In many of the letters one finds earnest expression of the deep-seated fear of popular government. For example, the able Irishman, Edward Conigland, of Halifax, says (1866), "immigration would doubtless be a blessing to us, provided we could always control it, and make it entirely subservient to our wants" (p. 45). On a later page he writes that he is sure the great judge, Ruffin, has no patience with the idea of popular sovereignty, "namely, the indefeasible right of a mere numerical majority to have all power vested in their hands" (p. 62). And Judge Ruffin himself says (p. 69) that all constitutional conventions in North Carolina since 1776 have made matters worse, that is, each of the great struggles in that state to give the majority more control over public affairs had only resulted in making things worse. Some day some historian will make an international reputation by tracing the history of the struggle for democracy in the United States. It was not merely in the Southern states that men feared the majority with an ineradicable fear. In every state of the North there was the same fear and the same anxious contrivance to thwart democracy in the home of democracy.

There is an exceptionally suggestive letter (p. 233) from Frank G. Ruffin of Virginia. It is a sort of family history of the Ruffins and

Roanes of Virginia. It relates the story that Colonel William Roane, of Virginia, undertook to punish a Tory for some offence. He stripped the Tory, tied him fast to a tree in a swamp swarming with mosquitoes, and left him over night thus exposed. The next morning he found his victim dead (p. 238). On a later page the writer says that the Roane family was connected by marriage with Washington, "whom sentimentalists love to compare in attributes with the Virgin Mary, . . . though the family never claimed the relationship" (p. 244). To be a cousin of George Washington and never claim it, in Virginia! In the Roane circles political convictions must certainly have been deeply set. This is one of several bits of evidence I have seen in Southern documents that Washington's nationalist leadership in 1787-1789 was more deeply resented than historians have suspected. If only the papers of Willy Jones and Rawlins Lowndes might be discovered and brought to light by some argus-eyed scholar!

In addition to the revelations of political sentiment, there is abundant evidence of the extent of the economic devastation wrought by the Civil War in North Carolina, evidence of the hopelessness of great numbers of people as well as of the resolute will of others to make the best of their calamities and quickly make their way back into proper federal relations. President Johnson's problem in the South is made clearer by these letters. It was not an easy one. Besides the letters, which make up the bulk of the volume, there are excerpts from the more important judicial decisions of Chief Justice Ruffin showing a good deal of the social and economic life of one of the older Southern commonwealths.

A History of California: the Spanish Period. By CHARLES E. CHAPMAN, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. 527. \$4.00.)

THIS work, although intended for the general public, is in most senses a definitive scholarly treatment of the subject. The author, who for two years held the Native Sons Travelling Fellowship and under it conducted researches in Spain, is a recognized authority on the Spanish sources for California history. The volume before us proves that he has mastered the difficult art of historical synthesis, and his literary style, while not distinguished, is sound, perspicuous, and reasonably engaging.

The volume contains thirty-five short chapters, an admirable bibliographical appendix, and a good index. There are three maps and also three portraits. One might be disposed to cavil at the paucity of the illustrative material, in view of the purpose of the book, and a more liberal use of both maps and pictures no doubt would have added to its usefulness. But illustrations are a publisher's problem quite as much as an author's problem.

In his introductory chapter on the Effects of Geography upon Cal-

ifornia History the author confines himself practically to a discussion of California's situation with reference to the outside world which affected the problem of discovery, exploration, and exploitation. There is no attempt either to interpret geologically or to describe physiographically. Chapter II. contains a discriminating account of the California Indians. The third chapter deals with early Chinese contacts with California, and in Chapter IV. is a discussion of the "Japanese Opportunity", *circa* 1600 A.D., to gain control of California. This is one of the freshest and most interesting features of the book.

Much if not most of the material in Chapters V. to XIX., inclusive, was already well known through other publications. Yet Mr. Chapman's detailed knowledge of the sources, his absorbed interest, and his insight enable him to make definite contributions at numerous points. Under his sure hand the old story takes on new meaning and interest.

The last observation is even more applicable to the latter portions of the book, which often in substance, and generally in spirit, are essentially new. At every turn the author reveals his firm grasp upon sources, whether documentary, monographic, or otherwise. He surprises the reader especially by the breadth and completeness of the treatment he accords to the international phases of his story.

Among the best of his chapters are the biographical. Bucareli, Anza, Serra, and Lasuen are presented each with appropriate coloring, yet with a discriminating judgment upon both their characters and their work, which testifies to a thorough documentary study of their careers. The analysis and description of the Spanish institutions of California in Chapter XXX. is adequate, as are the chapters following which bring the story down to the eve of the American conquest of California.

The reviewing of a book such as this one is a pleasing task, because there is really nothing to criticize. To be sure, no two writers would exactly agree on the treatment of any large subject, and I doubtless should have distributed the space somewhat differently had the problem been my own. To devote one thirty-second of his space to the "Origin and Application of the Name California" might seem a trifle excessive. Yet this, and other matters of emphasis, are purely questions of opinion upon which unanimity is impossible. The book should be welcomed as a conspicuous example of the new academic historiography which aims at a combination of sound methodology, broad, liberal, and exact scholarship, and at least respectable literary proficiency. It is not a prose epic, for the Spanish period of California, while variously tinged and streaked with both romance and heroism, on the whole does not lend itself to that type of treatment. But it is a highly satisfying book to read, and standing as it does at the beginning of a series will inevitably arouse among historians a keen desire to see completed the history of California on the plan Mr. Chapman has conceived. It promises to be one of the notable enterprises in the writing of state his-

tories now in full swing in so many of the western and mid-western states.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918. By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and JOHN MABRY MATHEWS. [Centennial History of Illinois, volume V.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1920. Pp. vi, 544.)

The Modern Commonwealth is the final volume in the series published by the Illinois Centennial Commission. The series, as a whole, is an enduring memorial of one hundred years of progress not only in Illinois, but, in a sense, in the nation at large.

This volume also completes the work begun by Professors Bogart and Thompson in the preceding volume, *The Industrial State*, and is of the same general character. The transition from an agricultural to an industrial state makes rapid progress in the quarter-century following 1893, but a healthy balance is maintained by an increasing interest in culture and learning, and in a slow but steady upward political movement.

Growth in education, art, and letters is treated in a chapter by Mr. Henry B. Fuller. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 serves as a point of departure for a new era in the development of Illinois and particularly of Chicago. The marvellous growth of the three great universities of the state furnishes a concrete illustration of similar progress in other educational lines, in art, music, the drama, literary activity, and municipal recreation centres.

The political and constitutional portion of the volume, by Professor Mathews, opens with a chapter on constitutional amendment and revision from 1870 to 1917, when the legislature submitted to the voters the question of calling a constitutional convention. Other chapters deal with the governor, state officers, administrative services, and civil service reform, and show "the reorganization of the principal administrative services on a more integrated and systematic basis". The state legislature, the judiciary, suffrage, parties and elections, and the enforcement of state law are well presented. Although much of the material in these chapters can be found in such texts as Greene's *Government of Illinois*, the author has done a real service by his clear analysis of recent changes and by fitting them into the familiar framework of the past.

As intimated above, Professor Bogart's treatment of the economic aspect of the period is a continuation of his study of the period from 1870 to 1893. In his discussion of population, he notes the phenomena connected with the drift to the cities, the shift from county to county, the influx and distribution of the alien population, and the effect of interstate migration—all of special interest in Illinois. Education is suggested as a chief means of solving the problems connected with agri-

culture. In manufactures, the trend toward consolidation and combination is emphasized, particularly in the Illinois iron and steel industry. Two chapters are devoted to trade and transportation, including water and good roads. The growth of labor organization and of legislation to meet labor problems includes the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1911, and the new law of 1913 as amended in 1917. There are excellent chapters also on the panic of 1893 and the banks, and on state finances and taxation. Reform measures such as the tax amendment of 1915 are suggested.

There are numerous statistical tables relating to Illinois, and a good index, also an excellent bibliography classified under four heads: Newspapers and Magazines; Federal Documents and Reports; State Documents and Reports of Cities and Commissions; and Monographs, Transactions, and Other Works.

A special chapter by Professor Arthur C. Cole on Illinois and the Great War fitly closes the volume.

CHARLES T. WYCKOFF.

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL. In four volumes. Volume I. (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1921. Pp. xix, 533. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is an excellent illustration of the newer type of real state and local history which is fortunately taking the place of the so-called histories of states and localities that have been written by ancient pioneers or shelved politicians without training either in history or in literature. Not one of its illustrations is a portrait. It may be classed definitely in the small but growing group of state histories in which the recent *Centennial History of Illinois* occupies a distinguished place, and not at all in the group with the recent three-volume *History of Arizona* by T. E. Farish. It is the work of a man who is by training, inclination, and devotion a scholar in political science and history, who has been an active and determinative factor in Minnesota life for more than a half-century, knowing all the state's governors but two, and who combines fine discrimination in the use of historical materials, accuracy, and vividness in their interpretation, and rare clarity and vivacity of literary style.

The four volumes, of which this is the first, will be far more than an expansion of the author's volume on Minnesota in the *American Commonwealths* series, out of which, in a fashion, they have grown; "an agreeable recreation" becomes a high and successful adventure in historical authorship. The present volume covers in its sixteen chapters the history of what is now Minnesota and the immediately adjacent eastern areas, from the beginning of French exploration of the interior of the continent to the eve of statehood (1857). It is an admirably proportioned and critical account of the far-flung efforts of the French

—explorers, missionaries, and traders; of the rivalries of the French and English in the Upper Mississippi basin; and of the period of British domination in the Old Northwest, from which they withdrew so reluctantly and tardily. The later enterprises of American explorers like Pike, Long, and Schoolcraft (ch. V.), of traders like Taliaferro and Sibley, and of missionaries like the Pond brothers, and the incidents of Indian warfare, are set forth with skill. In a few pages (85-87, 170-173) is an unexcelled brief account of the influence of the white man upon the Indian, while two chapters (X., XI.) give an admirable perspective of the acquirement of the "Suland" and the extinction of Indian titles by treaties—and otherwise—in which the greed and chicanery of the eager, intolerant, aggressive frontiersman, half settler and half speculator, outwitted and cheated the Indians at every turn, in spite of the generally benevolent intentions of the far-away federal government. "It was not to be expected that a tribe of savages numbering not more than ten thousand souls would hold indefinitely fifty thousand square miles of land against the pressure of advancing civilization and the lumber interest" (p. 305), not to mention the suspected copper deposits nor the unsuspected wealth of iron ore, and the lively, unprejudiced story of the negotiation of the treaties with the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1851-1854 brings out the unlovely features of a many-times told tale in Western history.

In the latter half of this volume the author's intimate and personal knowledge of such "builders of the Commonwealth" as Alexander Ramsay, the Rev. S. R. Riggs, and Henry Hastings Sibley, who was for fifty-seven years after his arrival in Minnesota in 1834 "easily the most prominent figure in Minnesota history" (p. 162), gives warmth and color to his descriptions of events and persons. Especially valuable are the chapters on Territorial Railroad Miscarriage (XII.) and on Peopling the Territory (XIII.), in which he writes with fine penetration and sympathy a condensed narrative of the energetic, and sometimes scandalous, political and economic orderings of the beginnings of a new white commonwealth in a fertile, well-watered, well-timbered Indian hunting ground, and of the uncertain sowing and the quick reaping on the sedimentary deposits of all sorts of men and women which the swift stream of migration left in the Middle Northwest. These processes were in full operation during the author's presidency of the University of Minnesota from 1869 to 1884, and continued in some part of the state, especially in the north, almost to the present day. Students of the history of the advancing frontier, of the rapid transit of American civilization from the region of the Great Lakes to the Pacific, will be grateful for these sixty pages of vivid description of a wilderness in transformation, done by the hand of a ripe scholar who was within speaking distance of the stirring events of which he writes.

The main narrative is buttressed by thirteen appendixes and six

excellent maps, and is enlivened by eleven full-page illustrations which are given, significantly, to such subjects as the steamboats at the St. Paul levee about 1858, a fur-trade inventory of 1836, and Minneapolis in 1857. Mention should certainly be made in this connection of the part played by the Minnesota Historical Society in the preparation of this work, through its treasures of books, maps, and manuscripts, and in the generous support of the publication of this volume in the highly satisfactory form which it takes.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

MINOR NOTICES

Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique. Par A. Vierendeel, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. In two volumes. [Collection Lovanium IV.] (Brussels and Paris, Vromant et Co., 1921, pp. 188; 190, 12 fr.) The first chapter opens with a definition of "La Technique" or technology, by virtue of which technology is to-day the dominating force of the world. The author divides the history of technology into five periods, as follows: the prehistoric period, ending with Menes, king of Egypt, 4000 B.C.; antiquity, from Menes to the fall of Alexandria, in A.D. 641; the Middle Ages, from the fall of Alexandria to the fall of Constantinople, in 1453; the Renaissance, from 1453 to 1800; modern times, since 1800. It is pointed out that in the prehistoric period, man created the flint industry, discovered the use of fire, invented the principal modern industries and the tools essential to the same. During antiquity, the sciences and arts of technology developed to a notable degree, thereby leading to a material civilization differing relatively from our own. During the Middle Ages, except for the invention of gunpowder, technology remained nearly stationary; whereas during the Renaissance and modern times technology has made rapid strides.

In successive chapters are traced the historical influences exercised upon technology by mathematics, mechanics, thermodynamics, electricity, steam, the locomotive, turbines, internal-combustion engines, aviation, illumination, and large-scale construction.

The author, who is a distinguished engineer and authority upon many technical subjects, develops his subject historically in a very interesting way. Although written from the standpoint of an engineer, and with special reference to the service of technical readers, the book is also addressed to the general reader. The chapters on mathematics and mechanics are of special interest and thoroughness.

Kolonialgeschichte. Von Dietrich Schäfer. In two volumes. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1921, pp. 111, 148, \$72.) Dr. Schäfer's brief sketch of colonization is a survey of the whole field almost solely from the political viewpoint. It is attractively written, and evidently intended for the general reader rather than as an attempt to add new knowledge.

Starting with the thesis that colonization forms one of the weightiest factors in historical evolution and that those nations which are most skilled in this work have become the leading world powers, the author briefly reviews ancient colonization. Attention is then paid to German expansion in the Middle Ages. To this he devotes a larger space than is often given it, asserting that the Germans more than any other medieval people increased their importance through colonization, and that contrary to the assertions of the Slavs, German expansion to the east was a peaceful rather than a warlike process. While this phase is important, one notes that thirteen pages are devoted to it, that only a paragraph is given to the commercial colonies of the Italian city states, and that a rather abrupt account of the discoveries and their background is presented. It would seem likewise that in a well-balanced account French colonization in Canada and the Mississippi Valley deserves more space than the single page allotted to it.

In concluding his second volume Dr. Schäfer points to the fact that although Germany is now deprived of colonies, yet, contrary to enemy opinion, no people is better suited to colonization than the Germans. Although the world is completely partitioned, the future may still offer hope of change. The possibility of discontent among the subjects of existing colonial empires, Islamic unrest, further Russo-British or Franco-British or even American-British friction, the ambitions of Far Eastern peoples, all point to the possibility of change. Such circumstances can only lead to advantage for Germany, if she is prepared again to pursue an independent policy.

JAMES E. GILLESPIE.

Korakou: a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth. By Carl W. Blegen, Ph.D. [American School of Classical Studies at Athens.] (Boston and New York, the School, 1921, pp. xv, 139, and 8 pl., \$5.00.) This book refutes finally the theory advanced by Leaf in his *Homer and History*, pp. 209 ff., and *Classical Review*, XXXII. (1918) 87, that no Mycenaean settlement would ever be found near Corinth and that the Homeric Ephyra was in Sicyonian territory. Dr. Blegen with keen scent of prehistoric sites has discovered a dozen or more that might claim the title. Korakou (wrongly spelled Korahou on p. 135) is east of the harbor Lechaëum, and certainly is not in the direction of Sicyon, as Leaf says. In the successive prehistoric settlements found, a ceramic sequence has been established, which is the basis for Blegen's new division of the prehistoric period of southeastern Greece into Early, Middle, and Late Helladic. The Early (2500-2000 B.C.) is distinguished for the "urfrnis" wares, the Middle I (2000-1750 B.C.) and II (1750-1600 B.C.) for Minyan and matt-painted vases; Late Helladic I (1600-1500), II (1500-1400), III (1400-1100 B.C.) corresponds to Late Minoan or Mycenaean. Korakou shows that the Mycenaean ware of the mainland is a development

of the Minyan under increasing Minoan influence. Supplying evidence which was lacking at Tiryns and Mycenae, Korakou now for the first time definitely establishes the relationship of the mainland fabrics, and has first distinguished a new kind of Mycenaean pottery which is christened "Ephyraean".

Pages 74-99 are devoted to the private homes, some of which may have had sloping and not flat roofs, as Blegen says. Especially important is the fact that we have now a clearer picture of a Mycenaean's private life. We can picture his worship about the "baetylic" pillar in the megaron type of house, with a simple bed raised slightly above the earthen floor, with its storage jars, its querns, its hearth, and its vases. We can even see the effects of the invasion from the north, perhaps from Phocis. We can trace the change from the apse-end house to the square end, though in this discussion a serious omission is any reference to Tsountas's important modern Greek book on *The Prehistoric Acropolises of Dimini and Sesklo*, where similar houses are discussed. A reference to Miss Rider's *The Greek House*, pp. 56 ff., is also needed.

After chapters on tombs and miscellaneous finds and an excellent historical conclusion, where it is said that Early Helladic civilization began in the south, in the Cyclades, and spread northward, a startling new hypothesis is put forward, that the so-called temple of Hera at Tiryns is a late Mycenaean house and that the Doric capital found there has nothing to do with it. But the building has no rear room or double portico as house L has and it is difficult to prove that Mycenaean sherds were found above it.

The book is beautifully printed with 135 figures (only one or two indistinct), 7 colored plates, and a plan of the entire site; a scholarly and ideal publication in every sense of the word, one of the most original works on the prehistory of Greece of recent years.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

A Short History of Christian Theophagy. By Preserved Smith, Ph.D. (Chicago and London, the Open Court Publishing Company, 1922, pp. 223, \$2.00.) The history of this book is told by the author in the preface. Starting with an investigation of the evolution of Luther's doctrine of the Eucharist and proceeding to examine the teachings of the other Reformers, penetration into the sacramentarian controversies of the sixteenth century brought him to see that the sacrifice of the mass and the real presence in the sacrament were not figments of medieval scholasticism but doctrines of the primitive church, and that in form and meaning the Christian sacrament closely corresponds to the rites of contemporary Greek and Oriental mysteries, from which it is in fact derived; while these in turn can be traced back to a remote antiquity in totemistic beliefs and practices. To the establishment of these propositions the first half of the volume is devoted.

The consequence of this evolution is a striking disproportion: Luther and his successors get a hundred and twenty pages; all that precedes, from the time when "the grandsons of the ape were accumulating their theological ideas", is dispatched in seventy-five.

The contrast between the two parts is no less salient in matter than in measure. With the Reformers the author is on a subject in which he is eminently competent and writes with the authority to which first-hand knowledge entitles him. In the preceding chapters, on the contrary, it is evident that his learning in a field remote from his own studies has been somewhat hastily acquired for the purpose, and it has the inevitable shortcomings of its origin.

This is peculiarly true of the chapter on Paul and his Symmystae. The personal religions of the Hellenistic world ("mysteries") and the relation of early Christianity to them form a field of investigation in which a great deal has been accomplished in the last decade or two, especially by philologists. Dr. Smith's acquaintance with this literature is decidedly spotty, and on various points he is much more dogmatic than he would probably be if he had followed the critical discussion, not to say if he had recurred to the sources. On the other hand there is a striking failure to note the most significant connections of Christianity with contemporary personal religions, a failure due in part to the limitations just noted, in part to the isolation of the particular problem of the sacrament from the relations of the religions as a whole. Of the nature of this larger problem he has apparently no apprehension.

Similarly inadequate is the chapter on totemism called "Praeparatio Evangelica", in which recent investigations and theories are ignored in favor of a more primitive stage of speculation. Nilus and his Saracens play the same rôle for which Robertson Smith cast them thirty-five years ago.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

Der Mittelalterliche Mensch, gesehen aus Welt und Umwelt Notkers des Deutschen. Von Paul Th. Hoffmann. (Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1922, pp. 356, M. 40.) The medieval man, or, as Dr. H. O. Taylor would say, the medieval mind, viewed from the world of Notker the German and his universe, is an alluring theme. Notker Labeo, the thick-lipped, as he was called by his contemporaries, or Notker Teutonicus, as later generations called him, lived in the time and place which Scheffel's *Ekkehard* has made familiar even to the general reader. Born about 952 he lived from boyhood to his death in 1022 in the famous monastery of St. Gall, whence his cousin (or brother?) Ekkehard II. went to the neighboring Hohentwiel castle to study Virgil with its haughty mistress, Duchess Hadwig. Little is known of his life. We are not-certain that he ever left the walls of St. Gall. Like Bede the Venerable he spent all his life in one monastery, devoting himself to

learning, to teaching, to writing. With the humble existence of this obscure ascetic and scholar as a centre the author of this book invites us to view with him the whole medieval universe of mind and spirit. His point of departure is in Notker's truly remarkable German translations, with glosses, of portions of Aristotle, of the *Consolations of Philosophy* of Boethius, the *Nuptiae* of Martianus Capella, the Psalms, and the lost German renderings of the *Andria* of Terence, the *Bucolica* of Virgil, the *Distichia* of Cato, and the Book of Job. In immense circles, from Augustine to Dante, and sometimes through the vast spaces of comparative history of religions, the author gradually swoops down upon his subject in St. Gall; then, as if unable to content himself with him, he rises again to the airy regions from which he came. The books which Notker translated loom larger than the translator himself.

The author writes from the standpoint of the German philologist. In descending order his secondary interests are in philosophy, theology, and history. Professional historians of the Middle Ages no longer perpetuate the "Legend of the year 1000", as is done on pages 142 and 273. However, no historian of medieval culture can afford to neglect this interesting book, which, in pages which are often fascinating, traces the noble effort of the medieval mind to reach the unattainable. All the sources which throw light on Notker and his monastery are exhibited with telling effect, even when they are utilized two or three times, as is sometimes the case. Chapter IX., "Die Knaben im Kloster", is full of novelty and charm.

The effort of the author to soar so high into the realms of philosophy from the humble plane of Notker the German is almost pathetic. It is evidence of the *acedia* or *Weltschmerz* of post-bellum Germany expressed by the author himself in the concluding paragraph of his book, which begins (p. 289), "Nacht liegt über der Erde von Heute und Chaos. Sie kreisst in Hader, Blut, und Tränen."

L. J. PAETOW.

A Repertory of British Archives. Part I., England. Compiled for the Royal Historical Society by Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. (London, the Society, 1920, pp. liii, 266, 12 s. 16 d.) Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, assisted by research students of the University of London, has begun the issue of a *Repertory* of British archives, of which the first part, relating to England, has recently appeared under the auspices of the Royal Historical Society. It contains a preface, an introduction, and an appendix to the introduction, followed by select classified lists of public records, three appendixes, and an index. It is not intended to serve as a guide, but rather as a directory assisting historical students to locate such documents as may be useful for their studies, and belongs therefore in the class of the lists issued in this country by the Public Archives Commis-

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sion rather than in that of the *Guides* furthered by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In its main division it adopts a threefold system of classification, first by types, second by origins, and third by repositories. The first group, which distributes by types, is designed to aid the student who wishes to know where among central and local archives certain kinds of documents are to be found, such as diplomatic papers, administrative and judicial proceedings, and miscellaneous. The second contains a survey of public records in local authorities, the documents of statutory authorities and trusts, and the records of counties, parishes, ridings, ancient palatinates, ecclesiastical bodies, and other local administrative and judicial divisions, the activities of which in the past have brought into existence documentary material. The third contains a directory of the actual repositories, beginning with the Public Record Office and other public and semi-public offices in London and concluding with the local archive centres, distributed by counties, with subdivisions for towns, parishes, and churches. The plan of the work is novel and somewhat experimental, but it is based on experience and the actual needs of research workers and is certain to be useful. Though designed chiefly for British investigators, it is likely to be of considerable service to those of America also, though not to that particular group interested in American history only. The lists are inclusive rather than discriminating, and no attempt is made to appraise the collections or to indicate in any way the relative importance of the archives listed. For that reason many famous repositories, such as the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the library of the S. P. G., are passed over very casually. The *Repertory* is intended to be used with other reports and printed works, which are here referred to in parentheses, while in part III., in order to further the student's convenience, asterisks are employed to indicate which repositories offer facilities for investigators. Altogether it is an admirable work, well planned and efficiently executed.

C. M. A.

The Laureateship: a Study of the Office of Poet Laureate of England, with some Account of the Poets. By Edmund Kemper Broadus, Professor of English at the University of Alberta. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. vii, 239, 15s.) It may seem odd that we should have to wait till now for a scholarly survey of the Laureateship. The institution is so famous, if not in the field of English poetry, at least in that of English satire, that one might feel sure it would have attracted serious study long ago; yet since the days of Warton and Malone it has been canvassed only by popular compilers. The reason is not hard to come at: the Laureateship of the good old times was little better than a public scandal.

Know, Eusden thirsts no more for sack or praise;
He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;
Safe, where no critics damn, no duns molest . . .

where also all but annotators of the *Dunciad* might prefer to leave him. And as for Cibber, it seems ungrateful to calendar the New Year and Birthday Odes of the man who wrote the *Apology*. Dead scandals may form good subjects for dissection, but not to serious scholars.

Much of Professor Broadus's book is necessarily given to these wretched laureates of the days of political patronage; but it is the merit of his work that he has found plenty of other matter to dignify it. For one thing, he has finally cleared up the origins of the office. As far back as the days of Henry III. we find a *versificator regis* in the royal household, and at the universities, almost from their beginnings, are traces of "poets laureate", that is, scholars who had taken their baccalaureate degree in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. The two have been frequently confused. The origins of the Laureateship proper are in the process by which the court gradually acquired a continuous succession of official poets and these poets finally took over the old academic title of "laureate". It was not till 1668, when Dryden received his patent, that the process became complete and the series of poets laureate officially began. How near Jonson and Davenant approached to this status and how far Skelton, Spenser, and others fell short of it is the subject of the most original part of the book. The later history of the office, which centres in its enslavement to the annual odes and its final emancipation from them, is more obvious, but not on that account less interesting. The whole quiet record of this quaint survival is full of suggestive fact.

R. E. NEIL DODGE.

History of Holland. By George Edmundson, D.Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 464, 22s. 6d.) . The aim of the series, in which this brief history of Holland is included, being to sketch the history of modern Europe with its extra-territorial relations during the last five hundred years, the selection of Mr. Edmundson as author of this volume was natural. He is peculiarly at home in the treatment of specific epochs. In addition to various monographs, he has written nine chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History*, seven of which have the Netherlands as subject, from the latter half of the sixteenth century down to recent times; the remaining two touch upon Spain and Portugal. The volumes of a series planned from without by a general editor and written within specified limits are not, as a rule, inspired writings. They are useful as playing their part in a wide conception, but rarely does the author give the impression of taking his subject *con amore*. And it cannot be claimed that this is an exception to the general rule. It is an excellent outline based on the latest Netherland ratings, but nothing more. Indeed, it may be called singularly anemic.

The narrative begins with the entrance of the Burgundian dukes into

the Netherland provinces, 1361, and concludes with the election of 1913, all condensed into 428 pages. There is still room for an account of the Netherland provinces from another angle, an account wholly free, consciously and subconsciously, from Motley's influence, which should consider more vitally the disintegrating effects of intensive individualism, and take into greater consideration the firm conviction of Philip II. that dissent from the Catholic Church was simply dangerous bolshevism.

The bibliography reveals this lack of a last word, but as far as the material goes, it is an excellent bibliography, and covers the ground.

A History of France from the Death of Louis XI. By John S. C. Bridge. Volume I, *Reign of Charles VIII.: Regency of Anne of Beaujeu, 1483-1493.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. xvi, 295, 16 s.) This volume excites the hope that, at last, an extensive and detailed history of France is being prepared for English readers by an author possessed of real literary ability. There is nothing but the title to indicate the scope of Mr. Bridge's plans, but if he intends to cover the entire period from 1483 to the present at the rate of a decade a volume we heartily wish him a long life. He has presented the story of the first decade in a dramatic narrative of events, embellished with apt quotations from contemporary sources, and enlivened by vivid characterizations of individuals. Louis of Orleans, La Trémoille, and Anne of Brittany stand out as very distinct personalities. Singularly enough Anne of Beaujeu, despite the author's desire to present her as his heroine, is a much vaguer figure, but this in itself is probably a truthful reflection of a contemporary condition.

The task of synthesizing the results of French scholarship since Pélucier published his *Essai sur le Gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu* in 1882 would seem to have been one for which the author is excellently fitted. The extensive bibliography, both of sources and of later works, which appears in an appendix, bears witness to his familiarity with the printed material, and, although not critical, will be the natural reference in the future for anyone who may wish to investigate this period. A unique and exceedingly useful feature is an appendix on "The French Monetary System", to which is attached a special bibliography. In this is a series of elaborate tables which make it possible to translate the European coins of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into reasonably accurate modern equivalents.

A tendency to over-emphasis would seem to be Mr. Bridge's chief weakness. This is doubtless part of that dramatic sense which makes his book so readable. Was this decade so uniquely decisive in the creation of the French monarchy? Did it witness the "final extinction of the spirit of provincial feudalism"? Is Anne of Beaujeu, even considering the limitations of circumstances, among the greatest of political women, worthy to rank, for instance, with Elizabeth and Catherine the Great? In regard to the States-General of 1484 he writes: "Convened in a moment of crisis, when the sceptre wavered in the feeble grasp of a child,

favoured by the suicidal jealousies of rival aspirants to power, and fortified by a deep reaction against the excesses of despotic authority, the States had enjoyed a unique opportunity for enforcing the redress of abuses, calling a halt to the encroachments of despotism, and building the structure of ordered liberty upon firm constitutional foundations." The feeling of doubt which this sweeping generalization excites is considerably quieted by the excellent summary of the weaknesses of the States-General as an institution. It is, however, on political subjects, especially those of international politics, rather than constitutional ones, that Mr. Bridge is at his best, and such topics occupy most of this volume.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Le Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj). By Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Traduit et annoté par E. Fagnan. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1921, pp. xvi, 352, 40 fr.) The publication of this volume is a matter of interest to all students of early Islam and the development of Mohammedan law. M. Fagnan gives in his interesting preface (pp. ix-xvi) the main facts regarding the book and its author. From this preface it appears that Abū Yūsuf was born in Kūfa in 731. Apprenticed to a fuller at an early age, he frequently stole away from his work to listen to the lectures of various learned men. Among these was the renowned Abū Hanifa, whose most celebrated pupil he afterwards became, and who, struck by the boy's zeal and intelligence, gave him pecuniary aid, thus enabling him to pursue his studies. Made kādī during the reign of al-Mahdī, he continued in office during the rest of his life, dying as chief kādī in the reign of Harūn ar-Rashīd in 798. He was noted for his great learning and for his keenness of intellect, but, if his memory is not magnified, he did not always use his learning and his keenness of intellect in promoting high ideals of justice.

This book is the only one of Abū Yūsuf's which has come down to us and was written, as he tells us in his introduction (p. 1), in response to a request made to him by Harūn ar-Rashīd for a book which should contain all the rules which should govern the collection not only of the land tax, but also of various other sources of revenue. In his discussion of the various questions involved the author touches on a great variety of topics, and by his treatment of these gives the student an excellent idea of how the body of Mohammedan law was gradually built up. In fact it would not be easy to direct the Western student, especially the one unacquainted with Arabic, to any book in which he could get, in the same amount of time, as vivid an idea of this matter as he could by reading this translation. The excellent analytical table of contents (pp. 335-340) adds to the value of the work, as does the general index (pp. 341-352). Should a second edition be called for, this index might well be extended so as to include a few more items such, for example, as *chameaux*, *croix*, *synagogues*.

M. Fagnan deserves the thanks of scholars for making accessible to

Western students this interesting law book of the second century of the Hijra.

J. R. JEWETT.

L'Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515. Par Henri Strohl, Maître de Conférences. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg.] (Strasbourg and Paris, Istra, 1922, pp. 174, 7.50 fr.) "Our study has no pretension of giving a definite solution of the problem. No new documents are presented; no new hypothesis is added to all those which have been hitherto offered and which have frequently had so brief a life. We shall be satisfied with exhibiting all the aspects of the problem, with comparing the theses, antitheses, and hypotheses, both those concerning the problem as a whole and those relating to some detail; we shall weigh the arguments in favor of different theories in the endeavor to ascertain on which side the weight of evidence lies; and we shall thus give to the French-reading public a critical account of the present state of research sufficient to enable the reader to find his way in the labyrinth of contemporary theories." Thus accurately does Professor Strohl characterize his own modest purpose and genuine, though limited, achievement. It is pleasant to see the University of Strasbourg, now French, devoting to the great German so sympathetic and thorough a study. For the author knows practically all the literature of the subject, German, French, and English—though apparently not the brilliant book of his own countryman, A. Humbert—and he shows not a trace of national, and only a little of religious, bias.

But however excellent as a review, the present work will disappoint him who expects an advance in our knowledge of the subject. During the last thirty years many new documents bearing on the subject have come to light, marginal notes, commentaries, lectures, a few letters, all of first-hand value, and many secondary accounts and reminiscences. During the same period intensive research, directed by fruitful and bold hypothesis, has unlocked many of the secrets of Luther's early life. Of all this Professor Strohl is aware; but to it all, as he admits, he is unable to bring any new light. He is capable of independent judgment only in choosing among authorities; he follows the beaten road, going right, when he does go right, with the crowd, and erring, if he errs, with the majority. His mild, almost sweet, criticisms of Scheel, and of Grisar, and of Preserved Smith, hardly represent an individual opinion at all, but a mere registration of the verdict of a jury of scholars, or of some of them.

Having read the whole work with enjoyment, the reviewer finds himself in agreement with most of the positions advanced. Not with the intention of dogmatically correcting a learned and careful scholar, but merely to indicate the discussable issues, the reviewer may note several points in which he dissents from the author. It seems that Professor

Strohl, like the majority of historians, represents Luther's development far too much, though not entirely, as an intellectual process. According to this view the discovery of the *sola fide* was much like the invention of logarithms, the result of some years of anxious study and scientific thought. But the alternative is far more likely, that the theological and philosophical expression of the doctrine was only the shadow following the train of emotional and active life, or, to change the metaphor, the small part of the iceberg seen above the waves. M. Strohl puts Luther's discovery of the doctrine of justification by faith in 1513; the reviewer is convinced that it took place about June, 1515. M. Strohl is unable to explain the fact that Luther said that "all the doctors" interpreted "justification" in a sense contrary to his, whereas Denifle showed, by examination, that almost all of them interpreted it exactly as he did. Is it not probable that Luther was thinking, not so much of the medieval doctors, but of the modern humanists, chiefly perhaps of Erasmus?

PRESERVED SMITH.

Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, and other Records, 1553-1620. Transcribed by Richard Savage, with Introduction and Notes by Edgar I. Fripp, B.A. Volume I., 1553-1566. [Publications of the Dugdale Society, vol. I.] (Oxford, the Society, 1921, pp. lx, 152.) The Dugdale Society, formed in 1920 to publish records relating to Warwickshire history, topography, and archaeology, presents an interesting programme and merits liberal support. The series of publications begins appropriately with the records of Stratford-on-Avon from 1553 to 1620, to which four volumes will be devoted. The first of these, containing the charter of incorporation, corporation minutes, orders, and memoranda, chamberlains' accounts, court rolls and views of frankpledge, agreements with the vicar and the schoolmasters, and various other documents of 1553-1566, has been published, and the second volume is promised for an early date.

The present volume is beautifully printed on fine thick paper and is provided with full-page reproductions of the initial letter of the charter (showing Edward VI. enthroned) and part of a corporation order (showing the signatures of John Shakespeare and other burgesses and aldermen). Much care has obviously been taken to secure, not only accuracy, but the utmost intelligibility in the reproduction of the records. Special devices distinguish simply and clearly additions and deletions, interpolations, explanations, and omissions. The introduction seems to summarize and discuss under fifteen heads the most interesting details of the records, but the headings are a very imperfect guide to the subjects treated. In fact the arrangement is partly systematic and partly chronological, and the reader will need to run through the whole introduction to make sure of finding all that concerns any subject of interest.

It is obvious that this and the following volumes will contain only

"a selection" of the Stratford records. Of course the records are very voluminous, but it is a pity that this selection is so limited and, at the same time, so large that it will forever stand in the way of a more complete collection. Much space, it would seem, might, in such volumes, be saved for the printing of records of events by declining to print in full, every time they occur, the general regulations enacted and re-enacted in practically identical terms at every view of frank-pledge and every court-leet. Why could not each of these items be printed in full when it first occurs and either followed by a list of dates of re-enactment or replaced upon later occurrences by a reference? As it is, we have page after page of these idle repetitions and lack hundreds of records of courts; for example, Halliwell-Phillips has more than forty records concerning John Shakespeare during 1556-1558 not in this volume. This is regrettable, for historical records can be properly interpreted only when seen in their setting. Even the incomplete records given in this volume enable the reader to see that John Shakespeare was a man of greater ability and force of character than he appears to be if one reads only the records concerning him and interprets them without background or perspective. And to have made this possible is a great service.

Die Englische Wirtschaft. Von Professor Dr. Hermann Levy, Technische Hochschule, Berlin. [Handbuch der Englisch-Amerikanischen Kultur, ed. Wilhelm Dibelius.] (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1922, pp. iv, 153, \$1.30.) In compass this book is an outline only; the degree of compression appears from the limit of 153 pages within which the writer sketches the economy of England from Cromwell to the present. Yet brief as it is, a sure touch of authoritative scholarship makes the work a helpful guide for German students who want a ready grasp upon the essentials of the English economic outlook. Of particular interest, coming from a Continental writer, is the manner in which Dr. Levy discusses the displacing of the doctrine of enlightened self-interest by the newer creed of socialization, and the revolution which that is involving.

One or two of Dr. Levy's conclusions are open to a difference of opinion. His view that the homely industrial virtues of English character are to be attributed to the Calvinism of the seventeenth century is less tenable as a theory than its exact obverse; and surely English character must be carried back beyond the time of Cromwell for its true genesis. Likewise in regarding English Liberalism of the nineteenth century as shaped by the survival of seventeenth-century Dissent, Dr. Levy overlooks the special influence of the Scottish universities, and the contagious effect of post-revolutionary Liberalism in France.

In bibliography it is surprising to find no mention, among English works, of the studies of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond; more surprising still that Dr. Levy's reading has not brought him into touch with any of the

French or American writers in this field. Further, he was at a disadvantage, when dealing with Works Committees, Welfare Committees, Tariff Reform, Imperial Preference, etc., in using only blue-books and official reports, and in accepting such reports at their face value. But for a general explanation of English economy the book serves its purpose well.

C. E. FRYER.

Le Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Maréchal de France, 1763-1813. Par Simon Askenazy. Traduit du Polonais par B. Kozakiewicz et Paul Cazin. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1921, pp. 335, 7.50 fr.) This is a charming biography of a really great man, whose career began like a rococo romance and ended like an antique tragedy. Prince Joseph Poniatowski played a not unimportant rôle in general European affairs; as one of Napoleon's marshals he belongs in a sense to France; and in Polish history he holds a unique place, as the best loved of national heroes, the radiant embodiment of both the virtues and the defects of his people, the most brilliant and humanly attractive figure in the long national martyrology.

This biography comes from a thoroughly competent pen, for Professor Askenazy's so fruitful and indefatigable researches in the Polish history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have made him the acknowledged master in this field. The present work is clearly based upon extensive and solid investigation, largely of unprinted sources, although it is destitute of foot-notes or bibliography, and is obviously destined primarily for the general reader.

As the favorite nephew of King Stanislas Augustus, a distinguished soldier and patriot, and a—for that time—perfect type of the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, Prince Joseph Poniatowski was a leading figure in the last, sombre days of the old Polish Republic, and during the ensuing Napoleonic era, when European politics centred so largely about the question of the restoration of Poland. The most interesting and important chapters of his life deal with his inevitably unsuccessful performance in 1792, when at the age of twenty-nine he was called upon to command his country's forces in the unequal struggle with Russia; his participation in "Kosciuszko's uprising" in 1794; and his splendid services during the period of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, as minister of war, organizer of the new Polish army, and commander in the glorious campaigns of 1807, 1809, 1812, and 1813. Whether as general, administrator, or statesman, Professor Askenazy rates his talents very highly—more highly than Polish historians have hitherto done. One feels some hesitation here at seeing Prince Joseph placed on the same plane with the Archduke Charles and with Scharnhorst. But there can be no doubt as to the personal fascination of this brave, joyous, ardent, and high-souled man, who "had only to show himself in order to conquer all hearts at once by his chivalrous bearing, the grace of his manners, and

the nobility of his character" (pp. 270-271). Whatever may have been the sins of his exuberant youth, he was in manhood the incarnation of honor, conscience, and disinterested public spirit; and in later years a patriot of almost Spartan austerity, devoting himself body and soul to the national cause, rising, as disasters multiplied, to ever greater heights of courage, energy, and self-abnegation. In the rout after Leipzig he met his death in the waters of the Elster, worn out by fever, anxiety, and over-exertion, riddled by bullets—down to the last muttering the words "Duty" and "Poland".

R. H. LORD.

The Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution. By A. Mervin Davies, Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford. (Oxford, University Press, 1921, pp. 84, 4s. 6d.) The brilliant pamphlets of Edmund Burke written solely to support the tottering political fortunes of the Old Whigs have given the direction to the historical interpretation of the events of his generation. The Whig tradition about George III. and his contemporaries, thus planted, has been carefully nurtured by generations of historians until it is so firmly rooted in the consciousness of the English-speaking people that it will probably obscure the landscape till the end of time.

The above thesis, which "was awarded the Stanhope Historical Essay prize for 1921 in the University of Oxford", exhibits the present status of the Whig tradition. Naturally the author makes no claim to original research; but he has conscientiously read some of the more notable books on the subject and has utilized, for illustrative material, a few volumes of sources. One wonders why his attention was not called to the works of von Ruville. This can hardly be ascribed to national prejudice, for Basil Williams, *Life of Pitt*, is not listed among the authorities. Is Stanhope's life of the Great Commoner the standard in Oxford historical circles?

A longer discussion of the work is unnecessary. It adds nothing to our knowledge of the time, but it will be found useful for those who are not themselves specialists in the subject and yet desire a short review of the constitutional changes during the period. The author finds no difficulty in proving the great significance of the reign of George III. in the development of the English constitution. "It marks," he writes, "the close of the system of government established by the Revolution of 1688 and ushers in the modern period of popular government."

C. W. A.

Letters to "The Times" upon War and Neutrality, 1881-1920, with some Commentary. By Sir Thomas Erskine Holland, K.C., D.C.L., F.B.A. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, third edition, pp. xv, 215, 10s. 6d.) Professor Holland's letters to the London Times upon war and neutrality were first collected into book

form in 1909, again early in 1914, and now, in the third edition, are given what the distinguished author regards as doubtless their final form. With the commentaries inserted they amount to considerably more than the expression of opinion, frequently highly controversial, upon more or less technical questions of international law, clothed in language suitable to the general reader. From the point of view of the historian of the period since the Russo-Turkish war they furnish a valuable series of reasoned, although wholly contemporaneous, judgments upon many points raised during the nine wars since 1878, in seven of which Great Britain was a neutral. Controversial questions concerned with "pacific" reprisals are also considered. Throughout there is exhibited a candor which not infrequently undertakes spiritedly to differ from official British opinion and decision.

Professor Holland's position in international law is well known. Though classed as an analytical jurist, he does not affect to undervalue international law as a body of reasoned rules of action developed by the usages and customs of civilized world society. With him realities are not eclipsed by theory, nor does his knowledge of international law give him an academic attitude where actual international problems are presented. The necessity of the solution and settlement of international differences, one after another, is a driving force in the making of international law. Law-making treaties solve some, but raise other problems. Professor Holland's opposition to the Declaration of London ("that premature attempt to codify the law of maritime warfare, claiming misleadingly that its rules 'correspond in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law'") is quite in line with his general point of view throughout forty years. His views upon the Treaty of Versailles express doubt as to the wisdom of joining in one document subjects intrinsically unrelated. The League of Nations is a "brave attempt", but his judgment is that the Covenant had no place in a detailed treaty of peace. His conservative attitude upon the theory of sovereignty may account for his fear that mandates may probably lead to jealousies and misunderstandings.

The volume is a record of forty years of vigorous and independent thinking and criticism, in which the event has frequently proved the correctness of the author's contemporaneous judgments.

J. S. REEVES.

Greater Roumania. By Charles Upson Clark, Ph.D. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1922, pp. xi, 477, \$4.00.) Whoever sees in war propaganda a desirable form of historical literature may take delight in this work on Rumania. In his preface the author tells us that, invited to Bucharest by the Rumanian government, he found himself moved to defend the country whose guest he was before the bar of world opinion. We may agree that, as a gentleman, he could do no less.

Incidentally he feels prompted to direct "the farsighted American capitalist and manufacturer" to "the remarkable opportunities" afforded in a country, which to a heart overflowing with gratitude "has the future of Southeastern Europe in her hands". *Greater Roumania* is as good a book as these conditions of its production permit it to be. It is no more than a sketch, a handbook. The geographical section is illuminating, while the historical chapters, compact as baled hay, serve up the main facts of Rumanian development, though with little regard either for charm or for digestibility. A survey of the newly acquired provinces, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Transylvania, and the Banat, is carried out on a more generous scale and constitutes the most readable as well as the most balanced part of the work. For the remainder there is little to be said. There are trivial sketches of the notables of the country, for all the world like bad tintypes, and there is a rather lengthy account of Rumania's political and military vicissitudes since the Balkan troubles of 1912. In this version of recent history the author outdoes himself as a blind partizan. His authorities, cited with confident gusto, are the case-hardened politicians and interested generals, his Rumanian hosts, who entertained him at tea. These be the gods of his idolatry, particularly, it would seem, Take Jonesco. Take Jonesco is a vivacious and important actor on the stage of Southeastern Europe but it was left to Mr. Clark's perspicacity to discover that he is a clear well of historic truth. The worst aspect of the author's uncritical procedure is that it does Rumania an ill turn. The gifted Rumanian people with their heroic past and their extraordinary present promise deserve to be sympathetically and truthfully known. Let us hope that they will presently find a disinterested scholar prepared to present them and their story without fear or favor.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik: ein Stück Zeitgenössischer Geschichte. Von Heinrich Kanner. (Leipzig, E. P. Tal und Co., 1922, pp. xiv, 468, M. 25.) This is one of the ablest, sanest, and most readable books on the origin of the war written by a German. The author was editor of the *Vienna Zeit*, before and during the war, until censorship difficulties made his position untenable. Much that later happened he foresaw and warned against—but in vain. Therefore his hand is unsparing in laying the lash on Aehrenthal, Berchtold, Conrad von Hoetzendorf, and the other Austrian aristocrats whose deceits and criminal recklessness were the immediate occasion of the war. The clever way in which he unmasks and ridicules the pre-war Vienna authorities may detract from the objectivity, but not from the readability, of the book.

Kanner has based his book mainly on the documents published by Kautsky in Berlin and by Gooss in Vienna, but does not appear to have

used Russian sources nor the most recent German publications as to mobilization. His book cannot be regarded as a well-rounded account of the origins of the war, because it says very little about the activities of the Entente Powers; he was mainly interested in pillorying Austria's guilty "catastrophe policy", which involved Germany and the world.

As to the author's conclusions, he rightly rejects the "Potsdam conference" myth, but condemns German stupidity in giving Austria *carte blanche* on July 5, 1914. He likewise rightly emphasizes the Kaiser's genuine effort to hold Austria back from her mad course, as soon as he learned of Serbia's conciliatory answer; but in spite of Berlin's violent "pressing the button" at Vienna, Berchtold went ahead as rapidly as possible to make war certain and avoid all mediation, even when urged by England and Germany together. Kanner also disposes of the legend that Austria at the eleventh hour was ready to yield and that Germany forced a general war by her precipitous ultimatums; for the records of the Austrian secret council of July 31 show that Berchtold never intended to yield in substance, however much dust he might throw in Europe's eyes. On the other hand, Kanner puts too much emphasis, we think, on a "Berlin-Vienna conspiracy" from July 5 to 27, and is wrong in saying that Berchtold's final refusal to accept Emperor William's "pledge plan", rather than the news of Russian general mobilization, finally led Bethmann-Hollweg to send the ultimatums to Russia and France. Not the least interesting parts of the book are the author's analysis of the responsibility question, his account of the way in which the official press whipped up a war spirit in Vienna, and the militarist efforts to suppress his own newspaper.

S. B. F.

South India and her Muhammadan Invaders. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. (London, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. xv, 257, 15s.) Professor Aiyangar's studies in the history of Southern India are of special importance since they elaborate the details of the past of a region that has hitherto been treated only superficially. This volume deals with the events leading up to the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century. The author first traces the decadence and ultimate disruption of the Chola Empire and the revival of the Pandya power, and then takes up the incursions into the Deccan by Ala ad-Din and Malik Kafur and the subsequent invasions by the forces of Muhammad Tughlak, concluding with a somewhat detailed exposition of the foundation and further history of the sultanate of Madura, of its wars with the Hoysalas, and of the setting up of the empire of Vijayanagar.

The work embodies much information gathered by the author in the territory concerned. The available sources, which are for the most part

carefully indicated, have been fully utilized, and the results are presented in clear and readable form. An appendix gives the text (in Grantha characters) and translation of five relevant inscriptions, two of which are apparently published for the first time. There are geographical notes on 46 towns and villages, and special notes on the date of the Ceylon invasion, on the chronology of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, and on the nationality of the Khiljis, as well as a translation of Ibn Batuta's account of Southern India. The volume contains sixteen well-chosen illustrations, a sketch map, and an adequate index of names. A subject index and a list of abbreviations should have been added. The treatment of native proper names is consistent and scientific, though the method of transliteration is susceptible of improvement. A book of such merit surely deserves a better binding.

GEORGE C. O. HAAS.

The Study of American History. By Viscount Bryce, O.M. Being the Inaugural Lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. 118, 3s.) This discourse, delivered by Lord Bryce at the Mansion House in London on June 27, 1921, commemorated the endowment, through the munificence of Sir W. George Watson, of what is described as "the first chair of American history established in the British Isles". A preface and an appendix explain the circumstances which led to the foundation. The address is interesting, first, as the presentation to a British audience, by America's good friend, of those lessons of our history which, to his thinking, would most interest the English people in the foundation, and, secondly, as the last comment, by the author of the *American Commonwealth*, on the development of the United States, of whose history and institutions Lord Bryce was so long a student.

The address begins with an argument as to the essential blood-relationship of the original, institution-building stock of the thirteen colonies with that of the mother-country, strongly reminiscent of Freeman's *English People in its Three Homes*, and, after summary comment upon various phases of our history, closes with the vigorous expression of a hope for the co-operation of the English-speaking peoples, particularly with reference to the establishment of peace throughout the world.

ST. G. L. S.

The American Philosophy of Government. By Alpheus Henry Snow. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. iii, 485, \$4.00.) This volume is a series of essays dealing chiefly with the international position and relations of the United States, with specific reference to the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. A few chapters

reminiscent of 1912 deal with internal affairs, and particularly with the position of the judiciary in the American system of government.

The key to this somewhat miscellaneous collection of papers of the late Mr. Snow is found in the introductory essay on the American Philosophy of Government and its Effect in International Relations; and also in that on the Declaration of Independence as the Fundamental Constitution of the United States. The author's fundamental thesis is that the essential feature of our government is the necessity for the protection of the private rights of individuals by means of a basic law interpreted by the courts. He concludes therefore that the United States cannot join a League of Nations because we must needs unite with other states not having such fundamental guarantees and must thereby surrender some of our national principles. Entrance into a League of Nations would necessitate a constitutional amendment and could not be effected by the ordinary treaty-making process.

His belief is that international government must not be endowed with physical force, nor must it enjoy the power of taxation in any form or under any guise whatever. "Otherwise, such a government would tend to become an autocracy." The League may, however, have an ordinary international directorate with advisory powers and may also have a supervising directorate. In neither of these bodies would there be vested either military force or the power of taxation. Co-operation and persuasion, he believes, should be the typical and characteristic methods. Mr. Snow suggests that the United States might organize for purposes of national relations some new "National Council of International Co-operation", including perhaps the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, and Labor. The duties of such a body would be to advise the President and Congress regarding matters upon which these authorities are required to make decisions. An interesting feature of this volume is a "Proposed Codification of International Law", an address delivered before the American Society of International Law in 1911 (pp. 397-418).

This volume does not contain an American philosophy of government as its title would seem to indicate, but expounds Mr. Snow's views regarding the wisest practical policy for the United States to pursue in international affairs. These views are shrewdly stated and constitute a typical and significant document of the period when the League of Nations was subjected to severe criticism. It is not valuable as philosophy, but is representative of a certain phase of the public attitude during the writer's time.

C. E. MERRIAM.

Leading American Treaties. By Charles E. Hill, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the George Washington University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 399, \$3.00.) Professor Hill states his

purpose to be "to give the historical setting and the chief provisions of fifteen of the leading American treaties". He chooses as these the following treaties: France, 1778; Peace with Great Britain, 1783; Jay's Treaty, 1794; France, 1800; Louisiana Purchase, 1803; Ghent, 1814; Great Britain, 1818; Florida Purchase, 1819; Webster-Ashburton, 1842; Mexico, 1848; Japan, 1854, 1858; Alaska Purchase, 1867; Washington, 1871; Spain, 1898; Panama Canal Treaties, 1846 -. To each of the above Professor Hill gives from fifteen to forty pages and a brief selected bibliography.

The influence of trade and commerce in international negotiations is shown, and it is maintained that "wars" rarely divert trade routes permanently. The contractual basis of the territorial expansion of the United States is shown in these treaties as well as the reflex influence of this expansion of territory in building up the power of the United States in international negotiations. There has been a policy of expansion by purchase even in cases where other methods of expansion might have prevailed.

The setting of the events leading to the negotiation of the treaties is particularly shown in citations from contemporary documents selected in a fashion to add both value and interest to the volume. The influence of the treaties in the after-development of the country is also explained.

It is recognized that important negotiations have, in many cases, been carried on by those not having full governmental recognition and by those whose office was not within the diplomatic list. To some negotiators, even fully accredited, the government has shown itself traditionally ungrateful.

Many instances are cited showing that the fathers were as human as their sons in the conduct of treaty negotiation, and not always gifted with the ability which posterity has often ascribed to them. The early negotiators did, however, often have opportunities to exercise their own discretion and judgment, owing to the impossibility of quick communication with the home government.

In the earlier, as in the later days, there are shown conflicts between the Executive and the Senate upon their respective treaty-making powers.

In a book of four hundred pages, it is difficult to present adequately a view of all these treaties; but Professor Hill has succeeded admirably in his purpose of giving "the historical setting and the chief provisions of fifteen of the leading American treaties".

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

Relations of the United States with Sweden. By Knute Emil Carlson, Ph.D. (Allentown, Pa., Haas and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 94.) In four chapters Dr. Carlson gives an account of the diplomatic, political, and commercial relations between the United States and Sweden, from 1778 to 1830 (chapter I., Relations during the American Revolution:

chapter II., Proposed Alliance; chapter III., the Stralsund Claims; chapter IV., Commercial Relations—in the table of contents, however, Dr. Carlson gives chapter I. as Negotiations during the American Revolution and chapter IV. as Commercial Negotiations, which are probably more appropriate titles). The treatise is based on printed material, but some of the matter is new to readers unacquainted with Swedish accounts touching the subject that are used by Dr. Carlson.

The account lacks proportion in its various sections; for instance, a large part of chapter III. is devoted to European activities, some of which have slight or no direct connection with the theme in question. The facts are not always presented in their proper perspective and are not always made to tell, while the arrangement of the material could be much improved. American motives and activities are not sufficiently nor clearly presented, nor are the activities and the success of English diplomacy properly emphasized.

The proof-reading is poor; even slips in grammar occur. Especially Swedish names and titles are badly printed—in four cases out of five an article by Boethius is printed "Gustaf IV, Adolfs formyndareregering", (*Gustaf IV. Adolfs Förmyndareregering*); in one case the possessive "s" is omitted. On page 3, note 5, Fenberg, *Sveriges Historia*, is quoted; the bibliography at the end shows that the reference is to Rudolf Tengberg, who wrote part of volume V. of the first edition of Hildebrand's *Sveriges Historia* (the volume was finished by S. J. Boethius, however). On page 50, note 17, *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago*, etc., is printed "Sbornik, Imperatorskago Russkago", etc., as though *Sbornik* were the name of an editor; while Bergbohm, *Die Bewaffnete Neutralität*, is printed "Die Bewaffnete Neutralitet"—to mention a few cases taken at random.

Cazenove Journal, 1794: a Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Translated from the French. Edited by Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Haverford College. (Haverford, Penn., Pennsylvania History Press, 1922, pp. xvii, 103, \$1.80.) This is a translation of an anonymous French manuscript purchased in 1900 by the Library of Congress. Mainly through internal evidence, Professor Kelsey has identified the document as the Journal of Theophile Cazenove (1740-1811) who, in 1790, came to America from Amsterdam, in the service of four Dutch banking firms. The formation of the Holland Land Company resulted, with Cazenove as its first general agent until 1799. It was in the interest of possible land speculations by this company that the journey, which the *Journal* records, was made. Leaving New York in October, 1794, the traveller came to Philadelphia a month later, having covered 360 miles through Essex, Morris, and Warren counties, New Jersey, and, in Pennsylvania, through Northampton, Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, York, Lancaster, and Chester counties as they were then or-

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ganized. Appended to the diary is a memorandum of the expenses incurred on the trip, showing the cost to have been \$223, for Cazenove and his servant.

Cazenove was observant. His *Journal* is interesting for its portrayal of town and country life of the section and period covered, for its descriptions of Dunkards and Moravians, and especially for its account of the Pennsylvania-German's characteristics and customs, many of which still exist, as his love of the land, for example, and the funeral feast (referred to on page 50). But the chief value of this record lies in the information it gives of economic conditions of the time. The prices of land, labor, cattle, farm products, as well as the cost of transportation, education, taxes, boarding, etc., are given in much detail for nearly every neighborhood in which the traveller stopped.

Unusual care has been taken with the editing of the *Journal*. The preface makes acknowledgment to no less than twenty-three persons and institutions from whom assistance was obtained. Furthermore, Professor Kelsey, by a tour over much the same route as that taken by Cazenove, has verified wherever possible the distances and statements recorded. Copious foot-notes, based on the examination of much local historical material, identify taverns, inns, persons, and places. There is a well-proportioned introduction outlining Cazenove's life and his activities in America, a map showing the route taken by the traveller, and a full index. The facsimile pages of the *Journal* which illustrate the volume show how difficult must have been the work of transcribing the original manuscript.

L. F. S.

General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox. Edited by Franklin L. Riley, Professor of History, Washington and Lee University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xv, 250, \$2.50.) Unlike most supreme commanders whose causes were ultimately overwhelmed, it was General Lee's good fortune to perform an extraordinary service for his people after the failure of their armies in the field. He was the first and most conspicuous advocate in word, and the most successful exemplar in deed, of the policy that it was only through the influence of popular education that the Southern states could be restored to their former condition of prosperity and happiness. "There was something truly inspiring", it was said at the time, "in the spectacle of a man so famous in the world settling down at the head of an obscure college in a remote country town to undertake the duties of a noble but arduous profession, without the slightest discontent or gloom, and with nothing in his demeanor to show that he had not spent his life in the teaching and management of youth."

He did not, as president, simply lend the prestige of a celebrated name to Washington College. Although there were, each year, as many as four hundred students enrolled, nevertheless he knew them all by name;

he knew the class standing which each had won; and over the entire body he exercised a paternal discipline, under which all were subjected to control, without that control being brought constantly to the consciousness of the individual or the mass. His solicitude for the young men never ceased. On one occasion, after leaving the chapel and its congregation of students, he was observed to be very much affected. "What is the matter, General?" he was asked with concern. "I was thinking", he replied, "of my responsibility to Almighty God for these hundreds of young men."

Professor Riley's volume preserves the recollections of the professors who served under General Lee, and also of many of the students who matriculated during his presidency. It is a vivid presentation of his spirit, conduct, and influence in that beautiful twilight of his career. Naturally, the odor of affectionate loyalty to the man, admiration for his character, honor for his achievements, gratitude for his solicitude, breathes from every page. Indeed, these impressions of General Lee, owing to the heroic circumstances of his past, as contrasted with the quiet occupation of the present, are, to an extraordinary degree, instinct with a sense of devotion that is at once romantic, pathetic, and inspiring. The volume is rendered notable, not only by its preservation of many new scholastic facts in his life, but by the evidence that it offers of his solicitude for the welfare of his fellow-men; his lofty conception of the duties of American citizenship; his dignity, serenity, and patience under defeat; and his far-sighted statesmanship for closing the wounds of the South, and restoring peace, harmony, and unity, throughout the whole country.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

The Play Movement in the United States. By Clarence E. Rainwater, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Southern California. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. xi, 371, \$2.75.) This book is somewhat less general than its title would indicate. The "play movement" as here described is not that wholesale turning of America to outdoor life that has been so characteristic of the last half-century, but is only the small portion of the whole that has to do with the public playground. The work deals with the rise of the profession of playground director and community leader, concerning which the author is well prepared by experience to speak. It is not entirely consistent with itself in the use it makes of the word "play", since after starting with the definition that play "is a mode of human behavior. . . not undertaken for the sake of a reward beyond itself" (p. 9), the writer soon drifts into the attitude that regards this play as a means of community instruction with ends far beyond those of mere recreation. Beginning with the sand-boxes of Boston, where this variety of organized play started about 1885, Professor Rainwater traces with care and accuracy the development and extension of the movement. He has provided a use-

ful manual for the student of education and physical education, and for the historian has made a considerable addition to the body of facts relating to the social habits of to-day.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LIV., October, 1920-June, 1921. (Boston, the Society, 1922, pp. xvi, 378.) Among the papers in this volume, especial importance belongs to that of Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo on the King's Woods and to that of Professor Samuel E. Morison on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823. The latter also discourses on the Custom-house Records in Massachusetts as a Source of History. Dr. Ford gives an entertaining account of Rev. Sampson Bond, a contentious person who became minister in Bermuda in 1662 and lived there till 1699, but had connections with Boston. Mr. Edward Gray gives a biography of Ward Chipman of New Brunswick, Loyalist. Of the documents, the longest is an interesting diary kept in 1778 by William Greene of Boston, chiefly in France. There are also papers from Spanish archives relating to John Clark of the *Mayflower*, and from the Public Record Office concerning Pickering *vs.* Weston, 1623. Among the memoirs of deceased members, accompanied by the singularly successful photo-engraved portraits which are always so admirable a feature of these volumes, the chief are those of James Schouler, of Andrew McFarland Davis, and of Dr. Samuel A. Green, for many years the society's librarian.

The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920. By Robert W. Kelso, A.B., LL.B. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. 200, \$2.50.) Mr. Kelso's detailed survey of three hundred years of poor relief in Massachusetts is an excellent piece of work. It is based on a careful study of original sources, chiefly town records, which are extensively quoted throughout the text. The author, who is secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, adds to his knowledge of the economic and legal history of his subject the qualifications of a trained and experienced social worker.

The early American procedure is explained largely in the light of the enduring influence of earlier English practice and especially the English regard of the care of the poor as a *local* obligation. The meagre economic resource of the colony is shown to be the factor which often clothed justice with necessary harshness.

A problem emphasized throughout the history of poor relief is that of the division of power and responsibility between the local unit and the administrative whole, and close attention is given to the working out of the precise administrative arrangements for meeting the joint responsibility of the state and town in the care of the poor. "The pre-eminence of Massachusetts in the field of social service" appears to be largely due to the successful application of the principle of division of function, ac-

ording to which policy-making and supervision now belong to the state, as represented by the Department of Public Welfare, and the actual administration of relief is retained by the smallest unit of government, the town.

The growing influence of the central government is shown through the slow development of the law of settlement, and the definition of "the Town's Poor". The problem of pauperism grew serious with the dumping of increasing numbers of English paupers on American shores, and each town tried to escape the burden of support. It is a long road from the days when children and adults were put out to service to save public expense by the town and the support of the poor was arranged for at public auction, to the time when the welfare of the poor themselves is considered as of first importance in deciding the principles of relief, which are centrally determined.

But to-day, with relief administered professionally, the numbers to be supported still increase, and there is little effort toward the introduction of preventive measures. A closing hint is to the effect that improvement in this respect lies chiefly in preventing the hereditary mental defective from propagating his kind.

AMY HEWES.

The Pitkin Papers: Correspondence and Documents during William Pitkin's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1766-1769, with some of earlier Date. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XIX.] (Hartford, the Society, 1921, pp. xx, 311, \$3.00.) Mr. Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, is to be heartily congratulated on the completion of the series of the correspondence and documents of the colonial governors of Connecticut, upon which he and the society have been engaged for more than twenty-five years and of which he himself has edited all but the first two volumes. The task of editing has not been a light one, for much of the material has had to be obtained from other archives than those of the society, including the Public Record Office of Great Britain, involving wide correspondence and scrupulous care in the reproduction. The problem, too, has had to be met of what to do with documents already in print that could not be entirely omitted and what "papers" to include as legitimately coming within the title adopted for the series. The result is a body of material that is not only an indispensable part of the documentary history of the colony, but a key also to its meaning during the years to which it relates. The entire series is in nine volumes, covering the administrations of Talcott, Law, Wolcott, Fitch, and Pitkin, 1724-1769, a period hitherto little known even to Connecticut writers and largely neglected by the older historians, Trumbull and Hollister. Now that so much new material is available, we can but hope that a new historian will arise, who will give us the history of the colony that is so greatly needed—a historian who will be a scholar of sufficient breadth of mind and range

of knowledge to break away from the provinciality of the earlier writers and deal with Connecticut on a large and comprehensive plan.

The volume under review, which contains the Pitkin papers, is smaller than some of the others, but yields to none of them in interest and importance. The letters of Pitkin to Richard Jackson, the agent of the colony in England, to Hillsborough, and to Conway, the replies of Jackson, and the letters of William Samuel Johnson from England are all suggestive and illuminating, not only for the information which they give but also for the state of mind which they disclose. One can but wonder what the people of the colony, who defeated Fitch because of his obedience to the king's instructions regarding the Stamp Act, would have thought of some of the phrases of flattery and devotion to be found in Pitkin's letters and in the colony's address to the king on the occasion of the repeal of the act, had they ever seen them. For servility and exaggeration these papers can hardly be surpassed in colonial literature. The volume contains other documents of value relating to the Mohegan case, customs and illicit trading, direct trade with England, Mediterranean passes, landholding, quartering of British soldiers, waste of timber, manufactures, non-importation measures, etc. There is a very interesting address of the New York merchants on page 193, and in the appendix several letters from Elisha Williams and Thomas Fitch.

C. M. A.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Volume XXV. The Book of the Museum. Edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society. (Buffalo, the Society, 1921, pp. x, 412.) Mr. Severance has made a very interesting volume, upon a plan which might easily and with advantage be followed by many a historical society. The museums of such institutions contain many objects whose interest and historical value cannot possibly be adequately made known by a mere card laid beside the object under a glass case. Mr. Severance has selected a score or more of articles in his museum which have an interesting story attached to them, and, with aid from other members of his society, has supplied entertaining narratives that bring out the significance of these objects to local history or that of the United States. It is easily imagined what good stories can be grouped around such things as a Ku Klux uniform, a Confederate flag, a car used for transportation on the first wire cable that preceded the Niagara suspension bridge, the original typewriter, the figure-head of the *Caroline*, Blennerhassett's telescope, a collection of carriers' addresses, various swords, relics of Red Jacket, and of the Fenian raid in 1866. Mr. Severance writes of such things with an excellent style, and good pictures heighten the effect of the book.

The Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871. By Gilbert J. Garrahan, S.J. (Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1921, pp. x, 236, \$2.50.) Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, writing a few years ago about the Sources of

Catholic History in Illinois, pertinently remarked that "the history of the work of the Church both in pioneer days and during the more complicated conditions of recent times has been distinctly notable. Yet because the sources of information have not been easily accessible to the ordinary scholar of history, the story of the deeds of the Church is in many periods most obscure as compared with the history of other phases of our past development." This handicap under which historians had to labor has perhaps been overlooked by certain Catholics, who felt disappointed and inclined to complain at the scant recognition accorded in some historical works to the Church's part in the onward progress of the nation. There is reason to believe that, thanks to the activity of Catholic students of history, this handicap is fast disappearing. At any rate, in so far as the early history of Chicago is concerned, the ordinary scholar of history may well be satisfied with the work of Father Garraghan. Whatever relevant material lay in Catholic archives of the Middle West has been ferreted out, wisely sifted, and woven into the fabric of the handsome little volume. The first four chapters: Early Missionary Visitors; the Pastorate of Father St. Cyr, 1833-1834; Bishop Bruté and the Mission of Chicago; the Pastorate of Father St. Cyr, 1834-1837, contain much that is entirely new.

For the subsequent pages the author had to lean more or less on second-hand authorities; yet even there, now and then, an appeal to some heretofore unpublished letter or other original document greets the reader's eye. Father Garraghan rightly considers Pre-Fire Chicago as an outstanding historical unit; accordingly he has assigned for limit to his story the "great fire" of October 9-10, 1871. Let us hope that he will give us in the near future an account of the mature development of the Church in Chicago. Himself a native of the City of the Lakes, he naturally is in full sympathy with his subject; but he knows how to hold his pen in subjection, and never allows it to swerve from the bounds of elegant historical soberness. From the material standpoint, the volume is a delight to the eye; and the illustrations, a number of which are facsimiles of original documents, most happily chosen and tastefully executed, add not a little to the interest of the narrative.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec [Pierre-Georges Roy], 1920-1921. (Québec, Imprimeur de sa Majesté le Roi, 1921, pp. viii, 437.) Besides the records of accessions and transactions usual in such volumes, M. Roy also presents a variety of interesting documents, such as the wills of Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil, and La Jonquière, with an account of that of Champlain; a list of colonists who came from France to Montreal in 1653; a *mémoire* of the intendant Dupuy concerning the conflicts which arose in 1727-1728 over the burial of Bishop Saint-Vallier; an interesting "État Présent du Canada, 1754",

by the Sieur Boucault; and an anonymous journal of the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept apparently by an official storekeeper, and preserved now in the library of Saint Sulpice. Elaborately edited for this volume by M. Aegidius Fauteux, librarian of that library, it recounts the progress of the siege from the point of view of a civilian within the walls. Archives in the province outside of Quebec are represented by inventories of the archives of the Palais de Justice of Rivière du Loup and of Three Rivers. The volume is a great credit to the new archivist, and to the province.

Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien: ein Kapitel aus der Kolonialgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Von Hermann Wätjen. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff; Gotha, F. A. Perthes A.-G., 1921, pp. xix, 352, 7.50 Gld.) For many years the students of the history of European colonial expansion have lamented the absence of an adequate treatment of the activities of the Dutch in Brazil in the seventeenth century. Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil* was written nearly three-quarters of a century ago; Edmundson's series of articles in the *English Historical Review*, "The Dutch Power in Brazil (1604-1654)", treat only certain aspects of the subject. Discussions by Brazilian writers, aside from being difficult of access, evince little familiarity with the Dutch sources. This *lacuna* has been admirably filled by the work under review. Its author, formerly a member of the University of Heidelberg, has not only ransacked the archives of the Hague but has apparently exhausted the material in Brazil. Returning from South America in 1914 he was caught in the meshes of the war and interned in England. Even under these adverse conditions he continued his investigations, thanks to the courageous assistance tendered him by certain of his British colleagues.

Approximately a third of the monograph is devoted to a graphic and at times brilliant narration of the efforts of the Dutch West India Company to carve out a colonial domain in South America. The outlines of the story are familiar; the chief service of the author is to throw into relief the achievements of John Maurice, count of Nassau-Siegen, for seven years (1637-1644) governor of Dutch Brazil. The statesmanlike programme of Count John Maurice included reconciliation between the Dutch and the Portuguese; the grant of religious toleration to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; and the daring experiment of granting the inhabitants of the colony a share in the government through the creation of the first parliament in South America. But his efforts to lay an enduring foundation for a Dutch dominion in the New World were wrecked by the policy of greed and gain of the Company and the shifting of the political scene in Europe following the recovery of Portuguese independence from Spain in 1640.

The latter two-thirds of the book treat with fullness and a wealth of statistics the social, religious, and economic conditions in Dutch Brazil.

Much of this material, drawn from the ledgers of the West India Company, is published for the first time. Not the least valuable section of the monograph is a critical bibliography not only describing in detail the manuscripts used by the author but also listing all the important printed works on the subject. One lays down this book with the conviction that in the restricted field to which the writer has confined himself future laborers will find little to glean.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

In order, among other such uses, to make up if possible a complete set of the *American Historical Review* with which to replace one destroyed in a French university library by a bombardment in 1918, the Board of Editors would like to receive any copies of the *American Historical Review*, of whatever date, which any readers of this notice can spare and may choose to send. Copies of the number for October, 1920, will be especially welcome to them. All such consignments may be sent to the office of the *Review*, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., by express, "collect".

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Writings on American History, 1920, Miss Grace G. Griffin's annual bibliography, has gone to the Government Printing Office, to constitute a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* of that year.

PERSONAL

Monseigneur Louis Duchesne, member of the French Academy, died on April 20. Born in 1843, he became in 1877 professor of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic Institute of Paris, taught for a time in the École des Hautes Études, and since 1895 had been director of the École Française de Rome. His fame as a scholar rests chiefly on his critical edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1884-1886, 1892), that of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* which he joined with Rossi in preparing, and his *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (1889), dealing with the Latin liturgy before Charlemagne. His determination to follow the severest principles of historical criticism, while keeping within the limits of Catholic faith, combined with a sometimes ironical style to bring upon him painful controversies, and the scholarly work on still earlier and more contested periods of church history which he published in 1906, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* (three volumes), was placed upon the *Index*.

Professor Gordon C. Davidson, of the University of British Columbia, died in the latter days of May. For some years a travelling fellow of the University of California, he was later a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces in the Great War, and was twice seriously wounded. It was only since last September that he had been professor at Vancouver.

Professor Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University will be absent on leave, in Europe, during the next academic year, and Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick, in the United States, occupied with studies in their industrial history.

Professor Wallace Notestein of Cornell University spends the next year in England in preparations for producing, in conjunction with Miss Frances M. Relf, a volume of the House of Commons debates of 1621, similar to that which they lately published for 1629, *Commons Debates for 1629 Critically Edited* (reviewed in this journal, pages 292-294, above). The Yale University Press will before long publish an edition of the *Diary* of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, also edited by them.

Preserved Smith has been appointed professor of medieval history in Cornell University, to succeed George L. Burr, retired.

Professor E. Raymond Turner of the University of Michigan has been appointed lecturer on the Schouler Foundation at the Johns Hopkins University, for 1923, to give in the spring a course of departmental lectures in the field of English constitutional history.

Professor C. E. Carter of Miami University has been granted leave of absence for the academic year 1922-1923. During the summer session he will teach in the University of Texas; he will then come to Washington for several months' work in the government archives.

Professor Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin has received leave of absence for the second semester of 1922-1923, and will spend the larger portion of his time in study in Washington and in England. His place in the university will be temporarily occupied by Professor Chauncey S. Boucher, of the University of Texas, who will also remain in Wisconsin for the summer session of 1923. Dr. Paul Knaplund, associate professor in the same university, will be on leave of absence throughout the whole of the next academic year for the purpose of pursuing studies in English and Scandinavian archives.

In a reorganization of the department of history in Washington University, St. Louis, Professor Thomas M. Marshall has been made permanent head of the department, while Dr. Roland G. Usher, remaining as professor of history, is given more time for writing and research. Dr. Donald McFayden, assistant professor in the University of Nebraska, has been called to Washington University as professor of ancient history.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: R. H. Lord, as associate professor in Harvard University; D. R. Fox, as associate professor in Columbia University; A. H. Sweet, as professor of history in St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.; J. D. Hicks, of Hamline University, as professor of history in the North Carolina College for Women; T. C. Blegen, as professor of history in Hamline University, succeeding Dr. Hicks.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professors A. T. Olmstead of Illinois and St. G. L. Sioussat of Pennsylvania are to teach in Cornell University; C. E. Chapman of the University of California, in Columbia University; W. K. Boyd of Trinity College (N. C.),

in the University of Pennsylvania; S. B. Harding of the University of Minnesota, in the University of Oregon; E. P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, in the Southern Branch of the University of California, Los Angeles; C. P. Higby of the University of West Virginia, in the University of California.

GENERAL

The contents of the April number of the *Historical Outlook* include: the Passing of a Pope and the Making of a New One, by Dr. G. B. Richards, who was in Rome at the time; the Woodland Indians, by H. C. Hill; Gandhi and his Policy, by A. V. Brown; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, by Professor J. W. Thompson; and Literature in the Synthetic Study of History, by E. M. Curti. Articles in the May number are: a Problem of Historical Analogy, by Professor G. M. Dutcher; and the Relation of Geography to the Social Studies in the Curriculum, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton. In the June number are found: the Immigrant in American History, by Dr. Carl Wittke; and the Window of World History—and the Educational Vista, by Professor Eldon Griffin.

The Library of Congress prints in a pamphlet of fifty-three pages, as a supplement to its *Handbook of Manuscripts*, a detailed account of its *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broad-sides, and British Transcripts* received from July 1, 1920, to December 31, 1921.

The Henry M. Phillips prize of \$2,000 was awarded by the American Philosophical Society, in April, 1921, to Mr. Quincy Wright, for a monograph on *The Control of the Foreign Relations of the United States: the Relative Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the President, of the Senate and House, and of the Judiciary, in Theory and in Practice*. This essay has been printed by the society as the main constituent of no. 3 in volume LX. of its *Proceedings*.

An Introduction to the History of History, by Professor James T. Shotwell, from the press of Lemcke and Buechner, is fulfillment in part of the project for a series of volumes, *Records of Civilization*, formed by Professor Shotwell while at Columbia University.

A brief but significant discussion of the philosophy of history may be found in R. Stammler's *Die Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung: Darstellung, Kritik, Lösung* (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1921, pp. 89). Another discussion worthy of notice is O. Braun's *Geschichtsphilosophie: eine Einführung* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1921, pp. viii, 127).

L'Histoire éclairée par la Clinique (Paris, Michel, 1920, pp. 320), by Dr. Cabanès, shows the contributions of medical knowledge to history. The book is written with much spirit and is founded upon extensive research.

The second *Year Book* of the League of Nations, prepared by Dr. Charles H. Levermore, secretary of the League of Nations Union and

the New York Peace Society, has come from the press. The volume includes the story of the sessions of the Council of the League, of the Assembly, and also of the conference at Washington, together with the texts of the treaties and resolutions which were the outcome of the conference (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York; or *The League of Nations Union*, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York).

The Great Adventure at Washington: the Story of the Conference, is from the pen of Mark Sullivan, with illustrations by Joseph C. Chase (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

The Federal Trade Information Service, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, has issued the *Treaties and Resolutions of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament as ratified by the United States Senate*, together with comprehensive tables on naval armaments, etc.

The Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion of Berlin-Neubabelsberg has begun the publication of a *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, intended to comprise some forty volumes by expert writers. Three that have been already published are: Ludwig Curtius, *Antike Kunst*, Bd. I. (Ägypten und Babylonien); Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*; and Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*.

After an interruption of seven years a new volume of the *Histoire de l'Art*, published under the direction of A. Michel, has appeared, under the title *L'Art en Europe au XVIIe Siècle*, I. (Paris, Colin, pp. 508). Another volume will also be devoted to this century. A number of experts have contributed chapters. E. Faure has published three volumes of *Histoire de l'Art: L'Art Antique* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. xxvi, 270), *L'Art Médiéval* (*ibid.*, 1921), *L'Art Renaissance* (*ibid.*, 1922).

The Macmillan Company will publish late this summer or early in the fall *A Short History of the Near East, from the Founding of Constantinople, 330-1918 A. D.*, by William S. Davis, professor of history in the University of Minnesota. About a quarter of the work will be devoted to the Byzantine Empire, the same to the Saracenic Empires, and about half of the entire book to the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan kingdoms.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April has an account of the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society, held at St. Louis last December, an article by Rev. Joseph A. Schabert on the Ludwig-Missionsverein, founded as an independent Bavarian missionary society in 1838, and continuing its work in America to the recent war; also a paper on Pope Sylvester II., by Rev. W. P. H. Kitchin, and one on Père Antoine (Fray Antonio Sedella), Capuchin of Louisiana, by Right Rev. F. L. Gassler of Baton Rouge.

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains an article, by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite, on Conrad

Alexandre Gérard and American Independence (chiefly letters of Gérard); one by William King on Lord Baltimore and his Freedom in Granting Religious Toleration; and one by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of Chicago, 1846 to 1921.

No. 28 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, the Society, pp. xli, 377) has in the European field two papers of marked historical value and of considerable extent: one by Dr. Harry Friedenberg, on Jewish Physicians in Italy and their relation to the Papal and Italian States, and the other by Mr. Max Kohler on those Educational Reforms in Europe, 1778-1919, which had to do with the introduction into Jewish education of instruction in the vernacular of the countries in which the Jews respectively dwelt. There are also papers on Sir Moses Ezekiel by Rabbi David Philipson, and on Heinrich Graetz by Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, and several interesting minor notes.

The *Journal of Negro History* for April has a long article by Alruthus A. Taylor, on Negro Congressmen a Generation After, in which he surveys, as carefully as the records permit, the qualities and training of the various representatives and senators of that race and their activities and achievements in Congress. There is also a paper by Walter H. Brooks on the Silver Bluff Church, the first negro Baptist church in the country, established a little before the Revolution; one by A. T. Fokeer upon the Negroes in Mauritius, and a number of interesting documents of negro history, among them one concerning the settlement of John Randolph's slaves in Ohio.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Stenzel, *Zum Problem der Philosophieggeschichte* (Kant-Studien, XXVI. 3-4); W. L. Westermann, *On the Sources and Methods of Research in Economic History* (Political Science Quarterly, March); G. M. Trevelyan, *History and Fiction* (Living Age, June 3); C. G. Haines, *Ministerial Responsibility and the Separation of Powers* (American Political Science Review, May); John Bell, *Disease and History* (Dalhousie Review, April); Estanislao Zeballos, *The Conference on the Limitation of Armaments* (Inter-America, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: M. Fluss, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Tiberius bis auf Diocletian, 14 bis 284 n. Chr., aus den Jahren 1894-1913* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXXIX. 7); L. Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine: Publication des Années 1917-1921* (Revue Historique, January).

Professor Gustav Kossinna of Berlin, well known for his studies of the last twenty-five years on the Indo-Germanic peoples, has published the first part of a work on *Die Indogermanen* under the title *Das Indogermanische Urvolk* (Leipzig, Kabitsch, 1921, pp. vi, 79).

Oxford University Press announces an important work by Professor Michael Rostovtzeff, now of the University of Wisconsin, on *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*.

Caesar, der Politiker und Staatsmann (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1921, pp. 234), by Professor Matthias Gelzer, of Frankfurt, is a new biography of Caesar based upon the thesis that he succeeded by reason of his ability to devote everything to his political aims and raise himself above political parties in the reform of the state, and that he fell because he broke too suddenly with established tradition.

Messrs. Putnam have lately published for the *Loeb Classical Library* the first of three volumes of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, with an English translation by Professor David Magie of Princeton. Humble as are the literary pretensions of the *Historia Augusta* and uncritical and feeble as were its authors, historians of the second and third centuries have been obliged to use it, *faute de mieux*, and an edition of it is useful to historical if not to classical scholars; apparently, too, there has been no English translation since 1698.

Arles Antique (Paris, Boccard, 1922, pp. 426), by L. A. Constans, sums up previous studies by the author and others in an authoritative way.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. de Morgan, *De l'Influence Asiatique sur l'Afrique à l'Origine de la Civilisation Égyptienne* (Anthropologie, XXXI. 5); Major Burne, *The Battle of Kadesh, 1289 B. C.* (Army Quarterly, April); P. Perdrizet, *Le Témoignage d'Eschyle sur le Sac d'Athènes par les Perses* (Revue des Études Grecques, January-March); C. Cichorius, *Ein Patentgesetz aus dem Griechischen Altertum* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, January); B. Nogara, *Etruria e Roma* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); J. H. Mora, *Menorca Prehistórica* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, January); A. M. Ramsay, *A Roman Post Service under the Republic* (Journal of Roman Studies, X. 1); J. R. Knipfing, *Das Angebliche "Mailänder Edikt" v. J. 313 im Lichte der Neueren Forschung* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XL.); E. Schwartz, *Über die Reichskonzilien von Theodosius bis Justinian* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Kanonistische Abt., XI.); A. Andréadès, *Le Montant du Budget de l'Empire Byzantin* (Revue des Études Grecques, January-March, 1921).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor Charles Guignebert follows up his book on *Le Christianisme Antique*, published last year, by a similar work, judicial, disinterested, erudite, yet readable, on *Le Christianisme Médiéval et Moderne* (Paris, Flammarion).

The Bollandist fathers, in the course of their courageous resumption of their age-long labors, have undertaken to fill the gap in the *Analecta*

Bollandiana, caused by the war, by issuing now a double volume (pp. 433) indicated as "Tomus XXXIV.-XXXV." The chief contents, occupying half the volume, is a collection of the original sources for the life of St. Jean Berchmans (1598-1621), with a learned introduction by Father Alfred Poncelet, discussing the sources of knowledge of the saint's life, death, and canonization. Father Henri Moret furnishes a catalogue of a large group of Latin hagiographical manuscripts which, by an odd chance, are preserved in the library of the medical school of Montpellier, and gives some texts from them. Finally, Father Maurice Coens gives, with appropriate introductory matter, the Life of St. Lebwin (Liafwine) the Anglo-Saxon apostle of the Frisians. An appendix completes Abbé Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* by completing volume V., "Addenda et Corrigenda".

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Distichs of Cato, so called, are translated from the Latin, with an introductory sketch, by Professor Wayland J. Chase, in no. 7 of the *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*.

A. Perier has given a careful and scholarly account of an important but hitherto little known Christian apologist, *Yahyâ ben Adî: un Philosophe Arabe Chrétien du Xe Siècle* (Paris, Geuthner, 1920, pp. 228).

A noteworthy book is *La Cité de Rhodes, 1310-1522: Topographie, Architecture Militaire* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. xviii, 158), by A. Gabriel.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Heusler, *Das Nordische Altertum in seiner Beziehung zum Westgermanischen* (Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXLII. 3); J. L. Heiberg, *Les Sciences Grecques et leur Transmission*, II. *L'Oeuvre de Conservation et de Transmission des Byzantins et des Arabes* (Scientia, February 1); P. Cloché, *L'Église Mérovingienne* (La Vie Universitaire, March); H. E. Meyer, *Die Pfalzgrafen der Merowinger und Karolinger* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.); E. Seckel, *Die Aachener Synode vom Januar 819* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1); Count J. de Pange, *Les Papes d'Avignon et les Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques* (Le Correspondant, April 25); E. Hoyer, *Die Selbstwahl vor, in, und nach der Goldenen Bulle* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, honorary fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, continues his volumes of architectural history with an account of the *Renaissance of Roman Architecture*, of which part I., devoted to Italy, has been published in handsome form by the Cambridge University Press, while part II., devoted to England, will be ready before long.

Vicomte de Guichen, well known both as a diplomat and as a historian, has published *La Crise d'Orient de 1839 à 1841* (Paris, Émile Paul, pp. 556), a book on an important topic and based on extensive research.

The relevant part of Baron von Eckardstein's *Lebenserinnerungen* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 517) has been translated, edited by George Young, and published by the firm of Dutton under the title *Ten Years at the Court of St. James, 1895-1905*.

The attention of students of history may well be called to the large amount of historical information, relating especially to the period 1910-1921, which is contained in the three additional volumes (XXX.-XXXII.) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, lately issued, each volume containing more than a thousand pages. The exceedingly elaborate articles on the history of the war, those on the recent history of the individual countries of the world, and the articles of recent biography, may especially be mentioned.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. G. E. Hall, *Anglo-French Relations under Charles II.* (*History*, April); Sir Julian Corbett, *Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar* (*Quarterly Review*, April); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Napoléon à Berlin en 1806* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January-February); R. Michels, *Étude sur les Relations Historiques entre la France et les Pays du Rhin* (*Revue Historique*, March); anon., *La Question des Réparations depuis la Paix* (*Revue d'Économie Politique*, November); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, *La France et la Syrie* (*Le Correspondant*, February 10).

THE GREAT WAR

The French government institution called the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre has put forth the first volume of a catalogue of the German and Austrian portion of its extensive collection of books, pamphlets, and articles on the Great War, *Catalogue Méthodique du Fonds Allemand de la Bibliothèque*, tome I., *La Crise Internationale* (Paris, Étienne Chiron, pp. xx, 292), which lists systematically 5699 pieces, published in Germany and Austria-Hungary before the end of 1920 (some also in 1921) and relating to the war in its international aspects. Writings relating to single nations and localities, and an alphabetical index, will follow, the whole making three volumes, of about 1200 pages. Alongside this invaluable repertory should be mentioned Hinrichs's *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur* (1914-1915), F. Avenarius's *Kriegs-Ratgeber über Deutsches Schrifttum* (1915-1916), and the briefer lists of Buddecke, *Kriegsliteratur* (1917), Hohlfeld, *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur* (1917), and Kunz, *Bibliographie der Kriegsliteratur* (1920); also, Jean Vic, *La Littérature de Guerre* (Paris, 1918, 2 vols.), the incomplete but extensive *Catalogue du Fonds de la Guerre* of the library of the city of Lyons, and the seven

volumes thus far published of the *Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris, Émile Paul) of the Collection of Henri Leblanc, of which, by the way, the next two volumes will be devoted to German works.

A clear and well-documented *Manuel des Origines de la Guerre* (Paris, Brossard, pp. 496), founded on the multi-colored books, is by F. Roches. A. Pevet has published *Les Responsables de la Guerre* (Paris, Librairie de l'Humanité, 1921, pp. 500) utilizing a number of hitherto unpublished documents. *Devant la Guerre: la Faillite des Trois Internationales, l'Internationale des Nations, l'Internationale Ouvrière, l'Internationale Catholique: leur Origine, leur Doctrine Pacifique, leur Fonction, et leur Action en 1914* (Paris, Dubreuil, 1922, pp. 157) is by A. Narodetski.

Commandant de Civrieux's *La Grande Guerre, 1914-1918: Aperçu d'Histoire Militaire* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 151) is written from the point of view of a partizan of Nivelle. The treatment, therefore, is not purely objective.

A clear and accurate account of the Italian phase of the war is embodied in F. Quintavalle's *Cronistoria della Guerra Mondiale, I. Dal Congresso di Berlino, Luglio 1878, agli Armistizi, Novembre 1918* (Milan, Hoepli, 1921, pp. xxxi, 800). The portions dealing with other countries are not equally satisfactory.

The German Reichsarchiv has begun a series of publications called *Forschungen und Darstellungen* (Berlin, Mittler), in which the first issue was a monograph on an episode of great importance in the history of the battle of the Marne; the second is a treatise, marked by much adverse criticism, on *Deutsche Wirtschafts-Propaganda im Weltkriege*, by Dr. R. Wiehler.

Colonel Bauer, who served continuously throughout the whole war in the Operations Section of the German Supreme Command, under Moltke, Falkenhayn, and Hindenburg, publishes a valuable collection of short articles describing personages and events as he saw them, under the title *Der Grosse Krieg in Feld und Heimat* (Tübingen, Osiander, pp. 315).

General H. von Poseck, in charge of cavalry matters in the German general staff, has published *Die Deutsche Kavallerie in Belgien und Frankreich* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921).

A brief but satisfactory account of the battle of Verdun is Commandant Bouvard's *La Gloire de Verdun* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1922, pp. 166).

Mr. John Murray has published the second volume on *Seaborne Trade*, by C. Ernest Fayle, in the *Official History of the Great War*, carrying the record from the opening of the submarine campaign to the appointment of the Shipping Comptroller.

Two important phases of the economic history of the war were the management of railroads and of foreign exchange. M. Peschaud has published *Les Chemins de Fer pendant et depuis la Guerre* (Paris, Dunod), the best general book thus far on the railroads in France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States. J. Decamps has given an account of the regulation of international monetary relations in *Les Changes Étrangers* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 400). A more specialized study is R. Durrenberger's *La Circulation Monétaire dans les Pays Occupés au Cours de la Guerre par les Empires Centraux* (Strasbourg, Heitz, 1921, pp. viii, 154).

Students who are interested in the problem of legislative Committees on the Conduct of the War will find an important record in *La Commission de l'Armée pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Flammarion) by General Pédoya, formerly president of that commission.

Philip Scheidemann, the well-known Socialist deputy, gives secret details of the papal mediation from documents, the source of which he does not reveal, in *Papst, Kaiser, und Sozialdemokratie in ihren Friedensbemühungen im Sommer 1917* (Berlin, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft).

A careful and detailed account of *L'Affaire Miss Cavell, d'après les Documents Inédits de la Justice Allemande* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 177) is given by A. Got.

A. Scheikevitch, a member of the staff of General Sarraïl, has embodied his memoirs of the Salonica expedition in a volume entitled *Hellas? . . . Hélas! . . .* (Paris, Catin, 1922, pp. 192).

Le Kémalisme devant les Alliés (Paris, Joannidès, 1922, pp. 512), by M. Païllarès, is the work of a man on the ground who had access to documents. It is hostile to French policy.

Various phases of the negotiation and the results of the peace treaties are responsible for a great many recent books. Among the more significant are G. Colm's *Beitrag zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Ruhraufstandes vom März-April 1920* (Essen, Baedeker, 1921, pp. 142) and Dr. Lucien-Graux's *Histoire des Violations du Traité de Paix*, I. 28 Juin 1919-24 Septembre 1920 (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. viii, 385). A number of addresses and articles by Raymond Poincaré are collected in *La Victoire et la Paix, 1921* (Paris, Daragon, 1921, pp. 130).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grelling, *Le Mystère du 30 Juillet 1914* (Revue de Paris, March 1); *The Military Revelations of the Late Herr Erzberger* (Army Quarterly, April); Lord Sydenham, *The Naval War, 1914-1915* (Quarterly Review, April); P. Painlevé, *La Politique de Guerre de 1917* (Revue de Paris, March 15); Capt. G. Voïtoux, French Navy, *Some Light about the Goeben's Escape* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, April).

GREAT BRITAIN

The Stationery Office has issued a ninth edition, illustrated, of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* and other objects in the museum of the Public Record Office.

Messrs. Methuen are publishing this month the first volume of a new *History of English Law*, by Dr. W. S. Holdsworth, this volume being a new history of the judicial system, to be followed by six others, three of them revised editions of his volumes previously published, three of them new.

Mr. W. G. Perrin, librarian to the Admiralty and secretary of the Naval Records Society, has completed a work which will surely be of value, *British Flags: their History and their Development at Sea, with an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device*, illustrated (Cambridge, University Press).

Mr. and Mrs. Quennell's *History of Every-Day Things in England* (London, Batsford), of which part I. runs to 1500 and part II. to 1799, is to be added to Mr. Morgan's *Readings in English Social History from Contemporary Literature*, mentioned in a previous number, as an excellent contribution to the means of following in schools or colleges the social history of England.

Mr. Norman Ault in a small book on *Life in Ancient Britain* (Longmans) meets a decided want by presenting a summary account of pre-Roman Britain according to the present state of knowledge, suited to the needs of the general reader and of the scholar not technically expert in archaeology.

The Cambridge University Press has lately published *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough, fellow of Emmanuel College, being the first English edition since Thorpe (1840) and including the results of Liebermann's labors.

Professor F. M. Powicke, of Manchester, puts forth a monograph on *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel* (pp. 112), reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library. The incentive to its preparation was the acquisition, by that library, of a manuscript of Walter's *Centum Sententiae*. All matters concerning Ailred are fully considered, in the light of all the materials and especially of Walter's life of him, the essential portions of which are printed in the appendix, from a manuscript belonging to Jesus College, Cambridge.

The second part of R. T. Gunther's *Early Science in Oxford* (London, Humphrey Milford) relates to early mathematicians, early mathematical instruments belonging to the university and the colleges, and mathematical instrument makers.

Two allied volumes of the Cambridge University Press are Miss Dorothy Chadwick's *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman* (pp. xiv,

126) and Mr. H. S. Bennett's *The Pastons and their England* (pp. xx, 290).

An important addition to the source-books for English constitutional history is J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A. D. 1485-1603*. (Cambridge, University Press, pp. xxii, 636), including a full historical commentary by the editor. An earlier period, and history partly political and partly social and economic, are covered in Miss Jessie H. Flemming's *England under the Lancastrians* (London, Longmans), which is an "intermediate source-book", apparently intended for secondary schools, and presents its extracts and documents in English translations.

M. von Boehn, who has previously written of France in the eighteenth century under the title *Rokoko*, has published *England im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Askanischer Verlag, 1921, pp. viii, 678).

Colonel H. C. Wylly's *Life of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.* (Clarendon Press) is the fruit of long and careful study, and will be held authoritative.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb add to their valuable series of works on English local government a volume on *English Prisons under Local Government* (Longmans), dealing with the two hundred years preceding 1877, when the central government took over the prisons.

Lord George Hamilton has brought out a second volume of his *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections*, covering the years 1886-1906, during which he was continually on the Front Bench, either in office or in opposition.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April has a further study by Miss Margaret I. Adam, on Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem. It has also a study of Eighteenth Century Medical Practice in Fife, by Sir Bruce Seton, based on doctors' accounts; several letters from Queen Anne to Godolphin, relating to Scotland; and an article on the Professional Pricker and his Test of Witchcraft, by Rev. W. T. Neill.

The Société Jersiaise has undertaken to publish the documents concerning the Channel Islands which are to be found in the archives of the neighboring French department of La Manche. The first two fascicles of the *Cartulaire de Jersey, Guernesey et des autres Iles Normandes* contain early documents from Mont St. Michel.

British government publications: *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, vol. VI., 1347-1356; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1632-1636, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Allan George Finch*, vol. II. [papers of Sir Heneage Finch, 1621-1682, earl of Nottingham and lord chancellor, his brother Sir John Finch, and other members of the family] (Historical Manuscripts Commission, pp. xxii, 651); *British and Foreign State Papers*, CXII., for 1919.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Sheriffs and the Administrative System of Henry I.* (English Historical Review, April); W. T. Waugh, *The Great Statute of Praemunire* (*ibid.*); A. H. Sweet, *Ceremonial Privileges of the English Benedictines* (Washington University Studies, IX. 1); Courtney Kenny, *The Evolution of the Law of Blasphemy* (Cambridge Law Journal, I. 2); W. W. Sweet, *John Wesley, Tory* (Methodist Review, April); George Unwin, *The Transition to the Factory System* (English Historical Review, April); Viscount Haldane, *The Work for the Empire of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council* (Cambridge Law Journal, I. 2); Sir Frederick Pollock, *Viscount Bryce, O. M.* (Quarterly Review, April); Ernest Barker, *Lord Bryce* (English Historical Review, April); *South Africa, 1795-1921* (Army Quarterly, April).

FRANCE

Medieval France: a Companion to French Studies (Cambridge University Press), edited by Arthur Tilley, is a collection of ten monographs on political history, the army, the navy, philosophy, literature, archaeology, etc., by such high authorities as MM. Charles Langlois, Pierre Caron, Charles de la Roncière, A. Jeanroy, Lucien Foulet, and Sir Thomas Jackson, the whole making a comprehensive survey, which is to be followed by a similar one for modern France.

G. Boulen and O. Martin have published in *Des Fiez à l'Usage de France* (Paris, Sirey, 1921, pp. 110), a very important text for feudal law in France at the end of the fourteenth century. Though there have been previous editions, this edition replaces them, being based upon the study of twenty-seven different manuscripts and accompanied with critical explanation and comment.

A monograph of the first importance for the war "du Bien-Public" is H. Stein's *Charles de France, Frère de Louis XI.* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. ix, 871).

An episode in French foreign policy illustrating characteristics of eighteenth-century diplomacy is studied by P. Oursel in *La Diplomatie de la France sous Louis XVI.: Succession de Bavière et Paix de Teschen* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 397).

Baron A. de Maricourt has published *Mémoires du Général Noguès, 1777-1853, sur les Guerres de l'Empire* (Paris, Lemerre). It is valuable because of the important positions held by Noguès, his varied experience, his insight and power of statement.

The theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, and others with regard to international peace are set forth by J. L. Puech in *La Tradition Socialiste en France et la Société des Nations* (Paris, Garnier, 1921, pp. 230).

The second volume of L. Delabrousse's important monograph on *Joseph Magnin et son Temps, 1824-1910*, gives a minute and conscientious analysis of *Le Siège de Paris, le Ministère des Finances, le Gouvernement de la Banque de France* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 575) based on correspondence in the ministries of agriculture and commerce. Light is thrown on the origins of the Franco-Prussian war in E. Ollivier's *Lettres de l'Exil, 1870-1874* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 215), composed of letters written in the years immediately after the overthrow of his ministry. G. Bouniols has written of the same period in *Thiers au Pouvoir, 1871-1873* (Paris, Delagrave, 1922, pp. 357).

The first satisfactory life of the Duc d'Aumale is published by R. Vallery-Radot, *Le Duc d'Aumale d'après sa Correspondance avec Cuvillier Fleury, 1840-1871* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. ii, 384). It is an introduction to four volumes of correspondence.

A new edition of Vicomte A. de Calonne's *La Vie Agricole sous l'Ancien Régime dans le Nord de la France* (Paris, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1921, pp. x, 593) is the first since 1887 and contains much new material.

Though primarily intended as a work of local history A. Mousset's *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Maison de Kergorlay en Bretagne* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. cv, 540) has general value because it contains many unpublished documents illustrative of Breton conditions from the Middle Ages to the present time. Similar materials on the history of Auvergne are made available in the Marquis de Lastic's *Chronique de la Maison de Lastic, d'après les Archives du Château de Parentignat et quelques autres Documents* (Montpellier, 1919-1921, 3 vols.).

A third volume of *Documents Inédits concernant la Ville et le Siège du Bailliage d'Amiens, Extraits des Régistres du Parlement de Paris et du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 437), by E. Maugis, has been published, covering the years 1397-1471. Unlike the two preceding, this volume has much important material on public law and economic conditions. The first part shows the working of the fiscal system developed during the Hundred Years' War, the second the consequences of the partition of the bailliage of Amiens by the king and the Duke of Burgundy in 1435.

R. Reuss has published the first good French account of the *Histoire de Strasbourg depuis ses Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Fischbacher). This important book is the work of many years. Other recent books which deal with the same area are L. Batiffol's *Les Anciennes Républiques Alsaciennes* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1921, pp. iv, 315) and *Le Rhin et la France: Histoire Politique et Économique* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xix, 385) by J. Aulneau.

The period of the Revolution and First Empire is covered in the first volume of P. Masson's *Marseille depuis 1789* (Paris, Hachette, 1921).

The book is of especial importance for its study of the commerce and industry of Marseilles.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Perels, *Eine Denkschrift Hinkmars von Reims im Prozess Rothads von Soissons* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1); F. Lot, *Conjectures Démographiques sur la France au IX^e Siècle*, II. (Le Moyen Age, May); Count de Calan, *La Noblesse Française au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January); Commandant Herlairt, *Les Enlèvements d'Enfants à Paris en 1720 et en 1750*, I., II. (Revue Historique, January, March); B. Combes de Patris, *Louis XV., la Légende et l'Histoire* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); F. P. Renault, *Études sur le Pacte de Famille et la Politique Coloniale Française, 1760-1792* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1922, 1); M. Marion, *Des Causes Financières de la Révolution* (Revue des Cours et Conférences, January 30); A. Cochin, *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution*, II. *La Liberté* (Le Correspondant, February 22); G. Lenôtre, *Les Agents Royalistes sous la Révolution, l'Affaire Perlet*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 15); Frédéric Masson, *Les Complots Jacobins au Lendemain de Brumaire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January-February); P. Marmottan, *Le Cardinal Maury et les Bonaparte* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Augustin Thierry d'après sa Correspondance*, V. *La Princesse Belgiojoso* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

For beginners in Italian Professor John Van Horne, of the University of Illinois, edits a small book entitled *Il Risorgimento* (University of Chicago Press, pp. 168), containing six selections chosen as offering contemporary illustration of some of the most interesting phases of the Italian struggle for freedom and unity: Mazzini's letter of 1831 to Charles Albert; the first act of Rovetta's *Romanticismo* (1854); Mercantini's Hymn of Garibaldi; passages relating to the expedition of the Thousand to Sicily, from Garibaldi's *Memorie*; Cavour's speech of March 25, 1861, on the Roman question; and Carducci's oration of 1882 on the death of Garibaldi.

The second and third volumes of *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family*, completing, to his death in 1872, this record of his life edited by E. F. Richards, have been published (London, John Lane).

A discussion of recent political movements in Italy and their bearing upon the relations between France and Italy is to be found in *Communisme et Fascio en Italie* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 118) by J. Alazard.

A new volume of *Recherches sur l'Histoire Politique du Royaume Asturien, 718-910* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 364) is by L. Barrau-Dihigo, of the library of the Sorbonne.

El Cardenal Cisneros, Gobernador del Reino (Madrid, Imprenta Ibérica, 1921, pp. 434), by C. de Cedillo, is not only a biography of an influential prelate of the age of Ferdinand and Isabella but a study of the Spanish government at the time of Spain's greatness.

Professor Felix Rachfahl of Freiburg has published *Don Carlos, Kritische Untersuchung* (Freiburg i. B., Boltze, 1921, pp. iv, 168).

The past and future relations between Spain and Portugal are treated with learning and insight in a lecture by Dr. Ricardo Jorge published under the title *A Intercultura de Portugal e de Espanha* (Oporto, Araujo).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: William Miller, *Democracy at San Marino* (History, April); G. Goyau, *Sur l'Horizon du Vatican*, II. *L'Église et les Églises, Le Nouveau Pontificat* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); V. Castañeda, *Relaciones Geográficas, Topográficas, e Históricas del Reino de Valencia, hechas en el siglo XVIII. á Ruego de Don Tomás López*, II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, January).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

General review: P. Kehr, *Bericht über die Herausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1920* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1). It is to be noted also that an account of a whole century of German historical scholarship is embodied in Professor Harry Bresslau's *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, im Auftrage ihrer Zentralkommission bearbeitet* (Hanover, 1921, pp. xiii, 750), in itself a monumental work.

An excellent and penetrating use of the whole literature of the subject has been made by K. Hampe in *Der Zug nach dem Osten: die Kolonisations-Grosstat des Deutschen Volkes im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Teubner, 1921, pp. 108).

Dr. Albert Werminghoff's *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg i. B., Boltze) provides not only an elaborate biography but a learned and interesting picture of Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century.

An interesting account of a man typical of his time is S. Stern's *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Hildesheim, 1921, pp. xvi, 402).

A valuable discussion of the events from the dismissal of Bismarck to the opening of the war is to be found in *Deutsche Geschichte unter Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1921, pp. viii, 360) by C. Bornhak.

On the basis of reports found in archives at Strasbourg after the French occupation C. Schmidt has written *Les Plans Secrets de la Politique Allemande en Alsace-Lorraine, 1915-1916* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 264).

La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919 (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 364) by R. Brunet is not a mere analysis but a historical account of the background and setting of the new constitution of Germany. From that point of view it is the best book which has yet appeared.

A biography of importance to the political as well as to the commercial and naval history of Germany before and during the war, is that of *Albert Ballin, Direktor der Hamburg-Amerika Linie* (Berlin, Gerhard Stalling).

An important volume by a well-known authority is J. Redlich's *Das Oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem: Geschichtliche Darstellung der inneren Politik der Habsburgischen Monarchie von 1848 bis zum Untergang des Reiches* (Leipzig, Der Neue Geist Verlag, 1921).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Grisar, *Lutheranalecten: V. Cur non Manus Nostras in Sanguine istorum Lavamus?* VI. *Melancthon's Rätselhafte Nachgiebigkeit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag 1530* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XLI. 2); H. E. Feine, *Einwirkungen des Absoluten Staatsgedankens auf das Deutsche Kaisertum im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.); D. Sägmüller, *Der Rechtliche Begriff der Trennung von Kirche und Staat auf der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848-1849* (Theologische Quartalschrift, CII. 3-4); C. Schweitzer, *Bismarcks Aeussere Politik und sein Christentum* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); George Saunders, *The Resignation of Bismarck* (Quarterly Review, April); F. R. Fairchild, *German War Finance: a Review* [based on Ch. Rist, *Les Finances de Guerre de l'Allemagne*] (American Economic Review, June); Dr. P. Dirr, *Auswärtige Politik Kurt Eisners und der Bayerischen Revolution* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, February); Joseph Szebenyei, *Hapsburg, Hungary, and Horthy* (Century Magazine, June).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Godefrid Kurth, 1847-1916: le Patriote, le Chrétien, l'Historien (Brussels, La Lecture au Foyer, 1922, pp. 142), by the late Professor Alfred Cauchie, contains two characteristic lectures by that lamented scholar, the one, on Kurth as patriot and Christian, delivered in Brussels in September, 1920, and the other, on Kurth as an historian, delivered in December of that year at the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome on the occasion of the resumption of the instruction interrupted by the war.

The chief matter in the *Bulletin* of the Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXIV. 4, is an important article in Flemish, "De Doopsgezinden te Antwerpen in de Zestiende Eeuw", by K. Vos.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Terlinden, *La Politique Économique de Guillaume I^{er}, Roi des Pays-Bas, en Belgique, 1814-1830* (Revue Historique, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The first volume of the *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens*, by Professor Charles De Lannoy of Ghent and Professor Herman Vander Linden of Liège, was published in 1907, and related to the colonial efforts of Portugal and Spain. The second volume, relating to Dutch and Danish colonization, appeared in 1911, a brief chapter on Sweden being left for the third volume. The manuscript of that volume, describing the colonial expansion of France from the beginning to 1789, was destroyed in the German burning of Louvain, together with all M. Vander Linden's library and notes. M. De Lannoy now brings out in a pamphlet (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 62), as all that can be done at present, the Swedish portion.

L. Mahlau has published the first volume of a *Geschichte der Freien Stadt Danzig* (Danzig, Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft, 1921, pp. 119). A single-volume history of Danzig is *Danzigs Geschichte* (Danzig, Kafemann, 1921, pp. 235) by E. Keyser.

The historical background of the problem of Russian unity is set forth by E. Haumant in *Le Problème de l'Unité Russe* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 132).

Vospominaniya [Recollections], 1914-1919 (Berlin, Ladyshnikof, London, Jashke), by V. B. Stankevich, is one of the most valuable books on the period of Russian history indicated, the author having been a Socialist Revolutionary editor before the war, and having been in such various positions during the war as gave him opportunities of observing near at hand most of the important crises.

The Macmillan Company has published *Russia Today and Tomorrow*, by Professor Paul Miliukov, partly lectures delivered in America.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rousseau, *Un Ministre d'Alexandre III. et de Nicolas II., le Comte Witte*, II. (La Nouvelle Revue, February 15); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, III. *La Mission de MM. Viviani et Albert Thomas*; IV. *L'Entrée en Guerre de la Roumanie*; V. *Le Désastre Roumain* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 15, March 1); anon., *Le Mouvement Pangermaniste dans les Milieux Allemands de la Pologne Russe* (Le Correspondant, April 25); J. J. Blociszewski, *La Constitution Polonaise du 17 Mars 1921* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Gaudefroy-Demombynes's *Les Institutions Musulmanes* (Paris, Flammarion, 1921, pp. xii, 192) is an excellent manual based on the results of recent scholarship.

Reports of General Ducrot and of Admiral Le Barbier de Tinan, with other important documents illustrative of Napoleon III.'s Syrian expedi-

tion, are printed in *Le Liban et l'Expédition Française en Syrie, 1860-1861* (Paris, A. Picard, pp. x, 351), edited by Father Camille de Roche-monteix, S. J.

The second number of the *Journal of Indian History*, edited by Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad, sustains the promise of its first issue, and contains articles of especial value, by the author and his staff, on sources for the history of British India in the seventeenth century preserved in the India Office and the Public Record Office, and on historical manuscripts in the libraries of India. The number also presents the beginning of a learned monograph on the Army of Ranjit Singh, by Sita Ram Kohli, and a translation of the Jesuit *Annual Letter* of 1648-1649 from Mogor.

The latest volume of the Oxford reprints concerning India is *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, by William Knighton (Oxford, Clarendon Press), which, originally published in 1855 and 1869, depicted vividly the life of the court of Oudh from narrations by a European adventurer in the service of the king and by a slave girl of the last queen.

Professor Paul S. Reinsch, American minister to China from 1913 to 1919, has brought out through Doubleday, Page, and Company a volume of recollections, entitled *An American Diplomat in China*.

A clear and careful study is presented by H. Tchen, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la Chine et du Japon* (Paris, La Vie Universitaire, 1922, pp. 328).

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out a study of the *Conscription System in Japan*, by Gotaro Ogawa, D. C. L., professor of finance in the University of Kyoto (Oxford University Press). The work is in two parts, first, an historical survey of the system of conscription, from its inauguration in 1873 to the present time, and second, a study of the economic effects of the system.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Aleš Hrdlička, *The Peopling of Asia* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LX. 4); M. Pernot, *Angora: les Turcs entre l'Occident et l'Orient* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1); Tyler Dennett, *The United States and "Good Offices" in the East* (American Journal of International Law, January).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Les Noirs de l'Afrique (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 160) is a historical essay on the negro peoples of Africa, their customs, religions, and art, by M. Delafosse.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Sorel and L. Auriant, *Jeremy Bentham et l'Indépendance de l'Égypte* (Mercure de France, April 15); P. W. Wilson, *The Kingdom of Egypt* (World's Work, June).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

At the office of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington most of the page-proof of Dr. Burnett's second volume of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* has been received, and preparation of the index has been begun. Mr. W. G. Leland arrived in Paris early in May, and is at work in the libraries. Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey will spend the autumn in Paris, completing the work which needs to be done *in situ* on her *Calendar* of papers relating to the Mississippi Valley. The manuscript for the first volume of Dr. L. F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates in Parliament relating to North America*, running to 1689, is nearly completed. Miss Elizabeth Donnan, professor in Wellesley College, will spend the summer in further work upon her volume of documents upon the slave trade, and Professor J. S. Bassett will continue the editing of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*. The Department has also received from Dr. Charles W. Hackett the first volume of the Bandelier Papers relating to Mexican and New Mexican history, collected in Spain by the late Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier for the Carnegie Institution and carefully edited and translated by Dr. Hackett. Miss Mary F. Griffin has taken the place of Miss Shirley Farr, resigned.

The situation with respect to government archives in Washington may be illustrated by the fact that all but the most frequently used portions of the archives and library of the Navy Department have been sent to the naval magazine at Bellevue, on the Potomac, several miles below Alexandria.

Among the recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: executor's account book of Washington's estate, 1802-1830 (photostat copy); Lund Washington's account book while manager of Mount Vernon, 1782-1786, and personal accounts, 1782-1787 (photostat copy); papers of George Mason relating to the Constitutional Convention, including Mason's draft of his proposed Bill of Rights, his speech in the Constitutional Convention, amendments proposed to the Constitution, and Edmund Randolph's plan of a constitution (nine pieces, 1782-1788); miscellaneous papers relating to prizes taken by British cruisers, 1779 (18 pieces); miscellaneous land, religious, and other papers relating to Waldoboro, Warren, and other places in Maine, 1766-1854 (about 150 pieces); letters to Charles A. Dana, 1859-1882 (20 pieces); and an album of letters of Samuel F. Smith, 1883-1898, including several signed autograph copies of *America*.

The Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year upon the history of the United States has been awarded to Mr. James T. Adams for his book on *The Founding of New England*, reviewed in our October number (XXVII. 129).

The twentieth session of the International Congress of Americanists will be held at Rio de Janeiro in August, the twenty-first at Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1923, the chairman of the committee of organization in the latter case being Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, head of the department of ethnology in the museum of that city.

Professor Carl R. Fish has written an *Introduction to the Study of United States History* (pp. 75) for use in connection with university extension work (Madison, University of Wisconsin).

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1921, Mr. John H. Edmonds, archivist of Massachusetts, has a paper on the Massachusetts Archives, chiefly consisting in a documented history of those archives, extending to 1836. It is followed by the text of several interesting papers from the archives. Mr. Henry De Puy contributes nine Andrew Jackson letters, correspondence of Andrew Jackson and Samuel Swartwout, 1823-1825. The main element in the number (159 pp.), however, is a series of long communications of William McCulloch to Isaiah Thomas, 1812-1815, intended to supplement Thomas's *History of Printing in America*, and replete with curious and detailed information concerning printing in Pennsylvania.

Judicial Controversies on Federal Appellate Jurisdiction (pp. 58) is a privately printed address delivered in June, 1921, by Colonel Alexander R. Lawton of Savannah, as president of the Georgia Bar Association. It is especially rich in Georgian material on its topic, dwelling especially on Judge Benning's opinion in *Padelford vs. Savannah* (1854).

The American Party System: an Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States, by Professor Charles E. Merriam of Chicago, is from the press of Macmillan.

Mr. Robert W. Neeser, formerly secretary of the Naval History Society, has performed a useful historical and patriotic service by preparing a small book on *Ship Names of the United States Navy: their Meaning and Origin* (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company).

Dr. George F. Black, of the New York Public Library, in *Scotland's Mark on America*, published by the Scottish section of "America's Making" (New York, 1921, pp. 126), brings together a biographical list briefly characterizing the career of more than 1300 Scots in America.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* are found the concluding part of the Journal of Rev. and Mrs. Lemuel Foster, edited by Professor Harry T. Stock, and a paper on the Pioneer Presbyterians of New Providence, Virginia, by S. Gordon Smyth.

The department of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic University of America has just inaugurated, with four substantial and creditable volumes, a series of *Studies in American Church History*, published under the editorial care of Professor, Peter Guilday. Of these volumes the

first is Father Jean Dilhet's *État de l'Église Catholique ou Diocèse des États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (pp. xxv, 140, 263), written about 1800 and now translated and edited by Rev. Patrick W. Browne, S. T. D.; the second, *Thomas Cornwaleys, Commissioner and Counsellor of Maryland* (pp. x, 140), by Rev. George B. Stratemeier, O. P.; the third, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1822-1922* (pp. x, 196), by Rev. Edward J. Hickey; the fourth, *The Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, 1790-1922* (pp. xiv, 223), by Rev. John H. O'Donnell, C. S. C.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The American Geographical Society of New York has brought out *A Description of Early Maps, Originals and Facsimiles, 1452-1611*, by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson. The maps described are a part of the permanent wall exhibition of the society, and there is besides a partial list of others found in the society's library. The same society announces the reprint of *A Short Account of the First Settlement of the Provinces of Virginia, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the English* (London, 1735), of which only five copies are known. The reprint will include a facsimile reproduction in color of Captain John Smith's map, with extensions by John Senex.

The *Magazine of History* prints in the October number several letters of Washington.

Students of the diplomacy of the Revolution should know of the existence of Don Valentín Urtazun's *Historia Diplomática de América*, pt. I., *La Emancipación de las Colonias Británicas*, t. I., *La Alianza Francesa* (Pamplona, Higinio Coronas, 1920, pp. 560).

The Federal Convention of 1787: an International Conference Adequate to its Purpose, by Arthur D. Call, secretary of the American Peace Society and editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, is issued by the American Peace Society with an evident purpose, to emphasize the Federal Convention as international in character, and the Constitution as therefore the worthiest model (in some essential features, at least) for that greater association of nations toward which the world aspires. The story of the Convention is briefly but effectively told, with emphasis upon two aspects of the Constitution, namely, that it created a government of laws and not of men; and that the central government operates directly upon individuals and not upon states. The booklet contains also texts of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, and the American Peace Society's "Suggestions for a Governed World".

The Manning Association of Billerica, Massachusetts, has brought out a remarkable and hitherto unpublished manuscript, written by William Manning in the year 1798 and only recently discovered in the old Manning manse at North Billerica. It is entitled *The Key of Libberty*, to

which is added this characterization by the author: "Shewing the Causes why a free government has Always Failed, and a Remidy against it". It is addressed to "the Republicans, Farmers, Mecanicks, and Labourers in the United States of Amarica, By a Labourer". Chief among the causes that "Ruen Republicks" is "a Conceived Difference of Interests Between those that Labour for a Living and those that git a Living without Bodily Labour". Manning has in a way anticipated Marx, yet he does not go to the length of prescribing a dictatorship of the proletariat. "Although their are many caulings by which men live honistly without Labour, yet as Labour is the soul parrant of all property by which all are seported, therefore the cauling aught to be honourable and the Labourer respected." "The ondy Remidi is knowledge"; and "the prinsaple knowledge nesecary for a free man to have is obtained by the Libberty of the press or publick newspapers". "But this kind of knowledge is almost ruened of late by the doings of the few." Therefore he proposes an association of "those who Labour for a Living", and the establishment of a "Magazein" for their better information. Incidentally he pays his respects to the Jay "treety" at length and often, and he has some first-hand information concerning the Shays Rebellion. Mr. S. E. Morison furnishes an appreciative and elucidating preface and numerous explanatory notes.

Major Howell Tatum's Journal, kept while he was topographical engineer (1814) to General Jackson, constitutes vol. VII., nos. 1, 2, and 3, of *Smith College Studies in History*. The writer of the journal had been a captain of North Carolina troops in the Revolution, had settled in Nashville as a lawyer about the same time that Jackson arrived, and had been attorney general of the state, and then judge of the superior court. He was appointed topographical engineer by Jackson in June, 1814, and began his services at Jackson's headquarters at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers July 21 following. About one-third of the journal consists of a topographical survey of the Alabama River from that point down to its junction with the Tombigbee, with remarks upon the character of the country. The remainder of the journal is an account of the movements and actions of Jackson's army from August 19, 1814, to January 20, 1815, and is a valuable first-hand narrative of events, particularly of the battle of New Orleans and its antecedent actions. The journal, the original of which is in the office of the chief engineer of the United States army, is edited, with an introductory note, by Professor John S. Bassett.

Notes on Land and Sea, 1850, is the journal of Dr. Robert F. Evans of Shelbyville, Tennessee, written while on the way to California (Badger).

The first series of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, containing the records and documents of the Union Navy, having been completed by the issue of the twenty-

seventh volume, the Navy Department has now issued the first of three volumes which will compose series 2, comprising the records and documents of the Confederate Navy. The volume (pp. 980, and 21 plates) is edited by Captain C. C. Marsh.

A useful little book in the *Lake English Classics* (Chicago, Scott, Foresman, and Company) is *Selections from the Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, edited for school use by Professor J. G. deR. Hamilton of North Carolina.

Volume II. (1868-1872) of Ellis P. Oberholtzer's *History of the United States since the Civil War* has come from the press (Macmillan).

At the time of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Rutherford B. Hayes, October 4 next, under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the first volumes of the *Diary and Letters of President Hayes* will be published. He kept a diary from the days of his boyhood to the end of his life. With the letters, now preserved in the Memorial Library at Spiegel Grove State Park, in the custody of the society, the publication will make about four volumes, edited by President Hayes's biographer, Mr. Charles R. Williams of Princeton.

Chauncey M. Depew's *My Memories of Eighty Years*, chapters from which, with the title "Leaves from my Autobiography", appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*, has been published in book form (Scribner).

Through Three Centuries: Colver and Rosenberger Lives and Times, 1620-1922, by Jesse L. Rosenberger, recounts in three brief chapters the history of the Colvers in early days in New England, then relates more particularly the life-story of Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D.D. (1794-1870), whose ministry, beginning in Vermont, counts long years of service in the state of New York, in Boston, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago; of his son, Rev. Charles K. Colver (1821-1896), whose earlier pastorates were in Massachusetts, the later in Illinois and Wisconsin; and of the latter's daughter and her husband who is the author of this volume (University of Chicago Press).

Adventures in Idealism: a Personal Record of the Life of Professor H. L. Sabsovich, privately printed by his widow, in a volume of 208 pages, is an interesting and profitable sketch of a Russian Jew who came to America as a young man in 1887, and occupied himself until his death in 1915 with earnest labors for the good of the Hebrews in this country, especially in lines of agricultural development. He was for many years head of the Woodbine Agricultural School in New Jersey, an institution of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and later was for several years general agent of that fund.

William F. McCombs, the President Maker, by Maurice F. Lyons, is from the press of the Bancroft Company, Cincinnati.

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A Review of the American Forces in Germany (pp. 442), by James G. Adams, is published in Brooklyn by the author (1189 East 24th Street).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Maine Historical Society celebrated, April 11, 1922, in its library building in Portland, the centennial anniversary of its organization. The principal papers read on the occasion were by President Sills of Bowdoin College and Hon. Augustus F. Moulton of Portland, the first dealing with the society's career in Brunswick, 1822-1880, the latter with its history in Portland from 1881 to 1922. Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage paid a tribute to Hon. John A. Poor for his valuable services to the society in its earlier period. In the autumn of this year the society will observe the tercentenary of the grant of the Province of Maine by the Council of New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. Dr. Burrage will deliver the address.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published, at the charge of the Dowse Fund, volume III. of its reprint of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (pp. x, 228), covering the proceedings from May, 1721, to March, 1722. The proceedings include many contentions between governor, council, and lower house, of the sort which our colonial representatives loved, many records of relations with the eastern Indians, and a multitude of details respecting persons and things in the province. The original prints being almost as rare as manuscript, it may fairly be said that the volume adds more to our knowledge of Massachusetts history in the two years named than all previously accessible sources combined.

A short street, of considerable local fame and some historical importance, is commemorated in a pleasing volume entitled *Old Park Street and its Vicinity* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company), by Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, who furnishes a gossip history of the locality, street, and each individual house.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired the Revolutionary War muster-roll of Captain Elijah Lewis's company, the gift of Mr. H. H. Rogers, and the record book of the Warren and Barrington Toll Bridge Company, 1857-1870, the gift of Mr. Fred A. Arnold. In the January number of the society's *Bulletin* is found an extensive account of Early Rhode Island Grist Mills.

The Connecticut Historical Society has lately received from Mrs. Susan E. Johnson Hudson, of Stratford, a second and final collection of Johnson papers, comprising more than a thousand letters written to members of the family during the period from 1800 to 1850, and supplementing the correspondence of William Samuel Johnson and his relatives, a collection of more than fifteen hundred letters, which the society received from the same source in 1913.

In a forthcoming book called *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, an Old-Time Sailor of the Seas* (Macmillan), John R. Spears relates the life and adventures of a Stonington sealer and voyager, explorer of the Antarctic region, and captain in the China trade.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* contains a paper by Alice Davis on the Administration of Benjamin Fletcher in New York, and the Journal of Joseph Avery, a Presbyterian minister, recording a journey from his home in Tyringham, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to the Genesee Country in 1799.

Among the articles in the July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are the History and Vital Records of Christ's First Presbyterian Church of Hempstead, Long Island, contributed by John D. Fish, and an account, by Alice D. Weekes, of Francis Weekes, friend and sometime companion of Roger Williams, but later a settler on Long Island.

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper by Professor James H. Breasted on the Edwin Smith Papyrus, an Egyptian Medical Treatise of the Seventeenth Century before Christ. Dr. William S. Thomas contributes a descriptive catalogue of some Revolutionary diaries. It should be remarked that James Allen of Pennsylvania was not a member of the Continental Congress, although his brother, Andrew Allen, was a member of the Congress from November, 1775, to May, 1776.

A Century of Banking in New York, 1822-1922, by Henry W. Lanier, is from the press of George H. Doran Company.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a paper, by William H. Benedict, on Travel across New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century and Later; continuations of a Young Man's Journal of 1800-1813, and of the Conduct Revolutionary Record Abstracts; and an eye-witness account by a German officer of the first appearance of American troops in the second battle of the Marne.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article on the Life and Works of Benjamin West, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson; the Washington Pedigree, Corrigenda and Addenda, by Charles H. Browning; and a continuation of the materials pertaining to the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, by Dr. W. A. N. Dorland.

The Whig Party in Pennsylvania, by Henry R. Mueller, is of the series of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Pennsylvania: a Record of the University's Men in the Great War is issued as a supplement to the *Alumni Register* (October, 1920).

In the April number of *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society are a letter from the committee of safety in Lancaster to the Continental Congress, June, 1775, and part I. of an Autobiography of William Michael, by George Erisman. The May number contains Lancaster County Petitions, etc., to the Supreme Executive Council, 1784-1790, by H. H. Shenk; and in the June number are some Historical Notes from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia, by Charles E. Kemper.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Magazine* contains the concluding chapters of Charles W. Dahlinger's history of Fort Pitt; a biographical sketch of the late Senator Knox, by Edwin W. Smith; Ten Years on Historic Ground: Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point, by Rev. Dr. Morgan M. Sheedy; and the Life and Times of Robert King, Revolutionary Patriot, by Henry King Siebeneck.

Among other results of a recent expedition to the Swedish archives, Professor Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, has translated into English, from the manuscript, the *Geographica* of Peter Lindström, military engineer in New Sweden 1654-1655, a document of great value for the history of the colony. The translation will be published in the autumn, accompanied by reproductions of its maps.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the Civil War Diary of General Isaac R. Trimble, edited by W. S. Myers; a biography, by George C. Keidel, of Mrs. Richard Caton, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; a continuation of Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's biography of Senator James A. Pearce, and also of the series of Provincial Records.

In the *Eighteenth Annual Report* of the library board and librarian of the Virginia State Library, there is included a translation, by Mr. Rosewell Page, of Quesnay de Beaurepaire's *Mémoire, Status, et Prospectus, concernant l'Académie des États-Unis de l'Amérique, établie à Richemond* (Paris, 1788).

The Virginia State Library has recently received by transfer from the office of the state auditor all the manuscript land-tax books (1782-1863) from the several counties, and from Princess Anne County four volumes of records and many separate documents. The library has also received 2460 photostat copies from the 12,000 rolls of Virginia Confederate troops preserved in Washington.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* devotes its pages to articles having special interest in view of the Vir-

ginia Historical Pageant (May 22-28), then approaching. They are: the Native Tribes of Virginia, by David I. Bushnell, jr.; the First University in America, an address delivered by Capt. W. Gordon McCabe at Dutch Gap on May 31, 1911, at the unveiling of the commemorative monument erected by the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames; the Real Beginning of Democracy in America, the Virginia Assembly of 1619, by Mary N. Stanard; the Settlement of the Valley, by Charles E. Kemper; Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road, the Settlement of Southwestern Virginia, by Judge Lyman Chalkley; and the Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, by Fairfax Harrison. Mr. Harrison's article gives for the first time an authoritative account of the expedition of Howard, Salling, and their party from the Valley of Virginia to New Orleans in 1742 and of Salling's escape from French captivity. A special feature of this issue of the *Magazine* is a number of Virginia portraits: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Lee, Jackson, Johnston, Stuart, and Matthew F. Maury.

Among the varied contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are: a note, by A. J. Morrison, concerning Colonel William Tatham (1752-1819) and other Virginia engineers; the Will of William Parks, the first printer in Virginia, with a note by Lawrence C. Wroth; some letters taken from Rind's *Virginia Gazette* (1774) pertaining to William and Mary College; and some letters of Gen. Edward Carrington to Alexander Hamilton in 1791 relative to home manufactures in Virginia.

Several pages of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are devoted to pointing out the primacy of Virginia in many phases of the national development, and the leadership of Virginia in the pre-Revolutionary period. Of particular interest in this issue of the *Magazine* is a text of George Percy's "Trewelacyon", a copy of which, from the original at Petworth House, England, was recently obtained by Dr. Tyler, and is now in possession of the Virginia State Library. There is also some correspondence (1767-1772) of John Norton, including letters of George Wythe, John Page, jr., and E. H. Moseley.

Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times, 1769-1802, edited by Alfred J. Morrison, has been brought out in Lynchburg by the J. P. Bell Company.

The October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, a body of material on the Hyrne Family, compiled by Miss Mabel L. Webber.

The *Transactions*, no. 26, of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, contains the address of the president, Mr. Thomas W. Bacot, delivered before the society in April, 1921, on the subject of some Huguenot settlements in South Carolina, and also a Huguenot Exhortation pro-

nounced at Pons, December 19, 1677, by Rev. Samuel Prioleau. This exhortation, which is given in facsimile and in an English translation by Rev. W. T. Riviere, is contributed, with an introduction, by Professor Yates Snowden.

The March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Dr. Roland M. Harper, on the Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1850 to 1880; one by Judge Beverly D. Evans on the Code Napoleon; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks. This installment includes a message from Governor Cobb to the general assembly of Georgia, November 8, 1853, concerning which the editor states that it is the only message of considerable importance transmitted during Cobb's administration.

The Alabama department of archives and history has instituted an active campaign for acquiring possession, under a legislative act of 1915, of the aboriginal mounds and town sites, old forts, and other places of historic interest within the boundaries of the state. The Alabama Anthropological Society, which has located 193 town sites within those boundaries, is actively assisting. By the reservation of parks and the placing of tablets or markers, the places acquired will be given the position of historical memorials. The last-named society, by an ingenious use of the mimeograph, succeeds in issuing to its members a monthly magazine called *Arrow Points*, the contents of which are interesting articles, drawings, and photographs relating to Indian remains and the Indian history of the state.

Dr. Armand Remy has deposited with the Louisiana Historical Society an extensive and elaborate manuscript history of Louisiana from its earliest period to 1815, written by his father, Henry Remy, a man of French birth and a resident of Louisiana from 1836 to 1867. The narrative, written in French, is regarded by those who have examined it as of much importance.

WESTERN STATES

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Iowa City on May 11 and 12. The presidential address was by Mr. William E. Connelley of the Kansas State Historical Society. Among the papers we note one on the Activities of New Orleans in behalf of the Texas Revolution, by Professor J. E. Winston of Sophie Newcomb College; one on Nativism in the Mississippi Valley in the Forties and Fifties, by Dr. George M. Stephenson; one on Recognition of Mexican Governments by the United States since 1857, by Professor C. W. Hackett, of Texas; and one on Kentucky Neutrality in 1861, by Professor W. P. Shortridge, of Louisville.

Articles in the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: the Relation of Philip Phillips to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, by Dr. H. Barrett Learned; the Beginnings

of Railroads in the Southwest, by R. S. Cotterill; and the Policy of Albany and English Westward Expansion, by Arthur H. Buffinton. In the section of Notes and Documents are found a memorial of the year 1763, entitled Hints Relative to the Division and Government of the Conquered and Newly Acquired Countries in America, with an introduction by Verner W. Crane; and a note by Dr. Everett S. Brown concerning Jefferson's plan for a military colony in Orleans Territory.

In the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are three articles by C. B. Galbreath, namely, the Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County, an account of Edwin Coppoc, a participant in the Harper's Ferry raid, and of his brother, Barclay Coppoc, also one of John Brown's men. The paper of chief importance in the January number is the Political Campaign of 1875 in Ohio, by Forrest W. Clonts. Articles in the April number are: General Joshua Woodrow Sill, by Albert Douglas; Seneca John, Indian Chief, by Basil Meek; the Ohio State University in the World War, by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert; and Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers, by Annetta C. Walsh.

The Indiana Historical Commission has issued (Bulletin no. 15) the *Proceedings* (pp. 157) of the third annual conference on Indiana history, held under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Commission, at Indianapolis, Dec. 9-10, 1921.

Articles in the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: George H. Proffit, his Day and Generation, by George R. Wilson; History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana, by Carl F. Brand; and Jesse Kimball, Pioneer, by George W. and Helen P. Beattie.

The Illinois State Historical Library is preparing for publication in the *Illinois Historical Collections* the diary of Orville H. Browning (1810-1881), one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois, United States senator from 1861 to 1863, secretary of the interior in the Cabinet of President Johnson, and member of the Illinois constitutional convention, 1869-1870. The diary, which covers the period from 1850 to 1881, is believed to be of great importance for the politics of the Civil War period. It is being edited by Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1919, includes the following papers: the Scots and their Descendants in Illinois, being the annual address, by Thomas C. MacMillan; Clark E. Carr, a tribute to the late honorary president of the society, by George A. Lawrence; the War Work of the Women of Illinois, by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; the Agricultural Development of Illinois since the Civil War, by Eugene Davenport; the Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834-1838, by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam; William Murray, Trader and Land Speculator in the Illinois Country, by Anna E.

Marks; and Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, 1751-1763, by John F. Snyder. Papers in the *Transactions* of 1920 are: Fifty Years with Bench and Bar of Southern Illinois, the annual address, by Oliver A. Harker; Benjamin D. Walsh, First State Entomologist of Illinois, by Mrs. Edna A. Tucker; Greene County, born 100 Years ago, by Charles Bradshaw; a Quarter of a Century in the Stock Yards District, by Miss Mary E. McDowell; Illinois Women in the Middle Period, by A. C. Cole; Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History, by Miss Grace W. Trout; and Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress, an Historic and Anthropological Study, by Arthur MacDonald.

Among the contents of the October, 1920, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Illinois Women of the Middle Period, by A. C. Cole; the Building of a State: the Story of Illinois, by A. Milo Bennett; Life in the Army (1867-1869), by Cynthia J. Capron; the Diary of Salome Paddock Enos, 1815-1860, with an introduction by Louise I. Enos; and Some Personal Recollections of Peter Cartwright, by William Epler.

William Clayton's Journal: a Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of Mormon Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, put forth by the Clayton Family Association, is published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News*.

Among the contents of the May number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: the Discovery of Kentucky, by W. R. Jillson; some materials relating to the First Explorations of Daniel Boone, by the same writer; History of the County Court of Lincoln County, by Lucien Beckner; Correspondence between Governor Isaac Shelby and General William Henry Harrison during the War of 1812; and some Reminiscences from the Life of Cave Johnson.

A History of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, and its Surroundings, written in 1869, by Samuel Haycraft, has been published by the Woman's Club of Elizabethtown.

Among the contents of the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are: Memories of a Busy Life, by General Charles King; the Services and Collections of Lyman Copeland Draper, by Louise P. Kellogg; Wisconsin's Saddest Tragedy (the killing of Charles C. P. Arndt by James R. Vineyard in the council chamber of the Territory of Wisconsin, Feb. 11, 1842), by M. M. Quaife; a continuation of the letters of E. J. Canright, a soldier in the Great War; and a letter written from Racine, Wisconsin, in 1843, by H. S. Durand.

In the issue of February-May, 1921 (double number), of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is found a very suggestive discourse by Professor Joseph Schafer on the Microscopic Method applied to History, a paper read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in January, 1921.

The principal article in the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* is the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its relation to Iowa History and Geography, by David C. Mott. There are also some reprints from *Gregg's Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial*, among them, Black Hawk: some Account of his Life, Death, and Resurrection.

Two articles principally occupy the pages of the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, namely, an account by William Clark of a Trip across the Plains in 1857, and a paper on the Judiciary of the Territory of Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher.

The May number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by John C. Parish, of the First Mississippi Bridge, and a reprint, from the *Chicago Daily Press*, September 24, 1857, of an argument by Abraham Lincoln before the United States Circuit Court as attorney for the Railroad Bridge Company.

The Missouri Historical Society has received from Miss Lucia L. Bates, granddaughter of Frederick Bates, governor of Missouri, 1824-1826, an important body of the papers of Frederick Bates, and of his more distinguished brother, Edward Bates, attorney general in Lincoln's Cabinet.

The State Historical Society of Missouri is preparing for publication the *Messages and Proclamations of Missouri Governors*, which will extend to six volumes. It is expected that the first three volumes of the series, covering the years 1820-1870, will be ready this year. The volumes will also include biographical sketches of each of the governors, prepared by competent hands.

Volume X. of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre, [1921], pp. 168) contains articles on Nicollet and Fremont, on Dakota in the Fifties, on the Astorians in South Dakota, on World War Activities in that state, on Mennonites there, and special historical sketches of Union County.

The October-December number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* contains an account of Historical Sites in Nebraska, by Addison E. Sheldon, and a Revenant Cheyenne, by the same writer.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appears a first installment of a study of the Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, by Anna Muckleroy; an Appreciation of Edward Hopkins Cushing, by his son, E. B. Cushing; and a continuation of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence.

A History of the Southern Pacific, by Stuart Daggett, has been brought out in New York by the Ronald Press.

The working library and papers of the late Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, which are of great importance to the history of the development of irrigation and of the improvement of river systems, par-

ticularly the Mississippi, have come into the possession of the Nevada Historical Society. The society already has the papers of the late Senator William M. Stewart, important to the history of the silver question.

The March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* has an article by C. F. Coan on the Adoption of the Reservation Policy for the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, 1853-1855; the first installment of a History of the Oregon Mission Press, of which the first issue was of 1839, by Howard M. Ballou of the Hawaiian Historical Society; and articles by T. C. Elliott on Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon, and on the subordinate relation of his endeavors to those of Major Robert Rogers, and by Robert M. Gatke on the First Indian School of the Pacific Northwest.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are: the Loss of the *Tonquin* (1811), by Judge F. W. Howay; the Background of the Purchase of Alaska, by Victor J. Farrar; and some reminiscences of Christina M. M. Williams, daughter of Angus MacDonald, recorded by William S. Lewis and annotated by J. A. Meyers.

CANADA

Abbé J. M. Grossetête's treatise on the French cod fisheries, *La Grande Pêche de Terre-Neuve et d'Islande* (Rennes, *Presse de Bretagne*, 1921, pp. 421) is a thesis for the doctorate of laws, and is confined to the French operations, but is an excellent description of the present industry in all its features, and is preceded by an historical introduction which will be of value to many American students.

Articles in the June number of the *Canadian Historical Review* are: Canada and South Africa, by Alan F. Hattersley; Intra-Imperial Aspects of Britain's Defence Question, 1870-1900, by Paul Knaplund, of the University of Wisconsin; and the Early Days of Representative Government in British Columbia, by W. N. Sage. Reginald G. Trotter contributes a note on Lord Monck and the Great Coalition of 1864, accompanied by the memoranda exchanged June 17, 1864, between Governor General Monck and Sir Étienne Taché, the prime minister.

Volume X. of the *Papers and Records* of the Wentworth Historical Society (Hamilton, Ontario) has for its principal content a reprint of the *Historical Sketch of the County of Wentworth and the Head of the Lake* (Hamilton, 1897), by J. H. Smith.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The February number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* has three historical articles: one on the Treaty of Tordesillas and the Argentine-Brazilian Boundary Settlement, by Miss Mary W. Williams of Goucher College; one on the history of Central American Union, by

Mr. Edward Perry; and an address on New Constitutional Tendencies in Hispanic America, by Professor Manoel de Oliveira Lima of the Catholic University of America. There is also part I. of a bibliography of Chilean Literature, by Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina.

Professor Halford L. Hoskins of Tufts College has prepared a *Guide to Latin-American History* (pp. 121), "intended primarily to furnish a means of access to the various aspects of development of those states which are collectively termed Latin America". The work is in form a syllabus, with "brief references", lists of "longer accounts", and of "additional readings", appended to each topical outline. There are also seventeen pages of classified bibliography and a list of outline maps, with suggestions for their use. Almost half the syllabus is concerned with Latin-American problems and collective development, on the one hand, and Pan-American and International relations, on the other, with special regard to commercial and economic aspects and problems.

Señor Humberto Julio Paoli, of Banfield in Argentina, expects soon to publish, as the beginning of a *Colección de Libros referentes a la Ciencia Hispano-Americana*, reprints of three books of some rarity in that field: Alvaro Barba, *Arte de los Metales* (Madrid, 1729); Nicolás Monardes, *Historia Medicinal de Nuestras Indias Occidentales* (Seville, 1580); and Peres de Verges, *Los Nueve Libros de Re Metallica* (Madrid, 1569).

The Cortes Society is planning to publish soon the excessively rare work relating to Brazil entitled *Historia da Provincia Sancta Cruz*, by Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (Lisbon, 1576). The first volume will contain a facsimile of the Portuguese text as published, with a translation into English by Mr. John B. Stetson, jr.; the second volume will contain the translations of three important documents relating to the same subject, with a commentary and notes by the translator. Other translations which will appear later are the narratives of the conquest of Mexico by Andrés de Tapia and Francisco de Aguilar, eye-witnesses, and of Peru by Miguel de Estete.

The Life of Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies, by Mr. Frank Cundall, of the Jamaica Institute, with a foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is brought out by Macmillan.

The Copper and Bronze Ages in South America, by Baron Erland Nordenskiöld of the Gothenburg Museum in Sweden (Gothenburg, 1921, pp. vii, 197), makes an important contribution to American archaeology by careful scientific studies centring especially around the relations of the age of copper to the succeeding age of bronze.

The latest publication of the Hakluyt Society is the *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*, translated and edited by Rev. Dr. George Edmund-

son from the manuscript discovered by him in the Biblioteca Publica of Evora in Portugal. Father Fritz is of note for cartographical work on the upper regions of the Amazon.

The Venezuela *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, V. 2 (Caracas, December, 1921), prints twenty-nine army bulletins of Bolívar of August–December, 1813, and a body of reports made to the Asamblea Popular of San Francisco in January, 1814. The bulletins of 1814 will appear in the next number.


In a Colombian series entitled *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*, Señores Roberto Cortázar and Luis Augusto Cuervo have published for the first time the *Libro de Actas* of the Congress of Angostura (1819), a record of much importance to the early history of both Colombia and Venezuela.

No. 52–53 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* begins the publication of a "Libro intitulado Coloquios de la Verdad" concerning obstacles to the conversion of the Indians of Peru and their general grievances, written about 1563 by Father Pedro de Quiroga, missionary among them; the document, important for the history of the conquest, as well as for subsequent Indian relations, is edited by Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas, Augustinian of the Escorial, in whose library the manuscript is preserved.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Oscar Montelius, *Amerika och Gamla Världen: hafva de stått i någon Förbindelse med hvarandra före Columbus?* (Nordisk Tidskrift, 1919, 1); Colonna de Césari-Rocca, *La Véritable Origine de Cristophe Colomb* (Revue de la Corse, February–March); W. C. Ford, *The Adams Family* (Quarterly Review, April); S. F. Bemis, *Alexander Hamilton and the Limitation of Armaments* (Pacific Review, March); L. M. Sears, *The Middle States and the Embargo of 1808* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); J. G. Randall, *The Indemnity Act of 1863: a Study in the War-Time Immunity of Governmental Officers* (Michigan Law Review, April); R. E. Cushman, *The Social and Economic Interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment* (*ibid.*, May); H. H. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of our Presidents*, cont. (Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 27); B. J. Hendrick, *Chapters from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, cont. (World's Work, April, May, June); *Letters of a High-Minded Man: Franklin K. Lane*, cont. (*ibid.*, April, May, June); G. Pattullo, *The Inside Story of the A. E. F.* (Saturday Evening Post, April 29–May 27); Baron Marc de Villiers, *Le Massacre de l'Expédition Espagnole du Missouri, 11 Août 1720* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s., XIII. 2); W. Smith, *First Days of British Rule in Canada* (Queen's Quarterly, January, February, March); W. R. Riddell, *Judges in the Executive Council of Upper Canada* (Michigan Law Review, May); Isabel E. Henderson, *Donald Gunn on the Red River Settlement* (Cana-

dian Magazine, April); Sir John Willison, *The Correspondence of Sir John A. Macdonald* (Dalhousie Review, April); T. T. Waterman, *The Geographic Names used by the Indians of the Pacific Coast* (Geographic Review, April); H. de Hoon, *La Doctrine de Monroe* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, December, 1921-January, 1922); C. E. Chapman, *A Monroe Doctrine Divided* (Political Science Quarterly, March); H. T. Collings, *The Economic Basis of Federation in Central America* (American Economic Review, March, Supplement); F. G. de Valle, *Páginas para la Historia de Cuba: Documentos para la Biografía de José de la Luz y Caballero* (Cuba Contemporánea, April, May); L. M. Pérez, *Las Relaciones Económicas entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos* (*ibid.*, April); Júlio Tello, *Prehistoric Peru* (Inter-America, April); C. A. Vivanco, *The Ecuadorian Campaign, 1821-1822*, II. (*ibid.*, June); A. de Galvão Bueno, *The Bandeirantes: their Deeds and Descendants* (Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, May).

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